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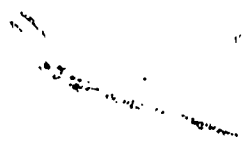

PRIDEAUX'S

CONNECTION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

VOL. II.

C. WOOD, Printer,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

Connected,

IN

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

THE DECLENSIONS OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH,

TO

THE TIME OF CHRIST.

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BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.

SEVENTEENTH EDITION:

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THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

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THE HISTORY

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JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK V.

ARTAXERXES having, by the death of Artabanus, removed one great obstacle to his quiet possessing of the throne, had still two others to struggle with, his brother Hystaspes in Bactria, and Artabanus' party at home. And this last being nearest at hand, gave him the first trouble: for [a] although Artabanus was dead, he had left behind him seven sons, and many partizans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict ensued between them and those who stood by Artaxerxes, in which many noble Persians were slain; but at length Artaxerxes having prevailed, did cut off all that were concerned in this conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revenge of every one of those who had an hand in the murder of his father, and particularly of the eunuch Mithridates that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The [b] manner of this punishment was thus: the person condemned

Anno 464. Artax. I.

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[a] Ctesias.

[b] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

to it being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out, and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out through a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, till the worms which were bred in the excrements that he voided as he thus lay, did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death; which was usually this way 20 days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquisite torments.

Artaxerxes, having mastered this difficulty, was at leisure to send an army into Bactria [c] against his brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success; [d] for a fierce battle ensuing, though Hystaspes did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was got against him; but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better preparations for a second encounter.

But the next year [e] Artaxerxes having drawn together a much stronger army, as having the greatest part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hystaspes, and utterly overthrew him in a second battle; whereby having removed all difficulties and oppositions, he now became fully possessed of the whole empire; [f] and the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those governors of cities and provinces of whom he had any suspicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the government; whereby he gain[ed] to himself much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the people, wherein lieth the surest interest of princes.

An. 465. Artax. 2.

After Artaxerxes had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole Persian empire, [g] he appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the city of Shushan or Susa in feastings and shows, for the term of 180 days, on the conclusion of which he made a great feast for all the princes and people that were then in

An. 462. Artax. 3.

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[c] That Hystaspes was governor of Bactria, at his father's death, is attested by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. p. 53.

[d] Ctesias. [e] Ibid.

[f] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

[g] Esther i. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

Shushan for seven days. And Vashti the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women. On the 7th day, the king's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring queen Vashti before him with the crown royal on her head, that he might shew to the princes and people her beauty; for she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to shew herself in such an assembly, being [h] contrary to the usage of the Persians, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very indecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come; whereon the king, being very much incensed, called his seven counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their husbands, advised that the king should put Vashti away for ever from him, and give her royal state to another that should be better than she, and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own house. Which advice pleasing the king, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and Vashti never more after that came again into the king's presence: for the decree whereby she was removed from him was registered among the laws of the Medes and Persians, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this orders were given out through the whole empire, for the gathering together to the palace at Shushan all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be chosen whom the king should best like, to be made queen in her place.

At [i] the time when this collection of virgins was made, there lived in Shushan a certain Jew, named Mordecai, who was of the descendants of those who had been carried captive to Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judah, and, by his attendance at the king's gate, seems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up Hadassah, his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman, being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the king's palace, and there committed to the care of Hegai the king's chamberlain, who

An. 641. Artax. 4.

[h] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

[i] Esther ii. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

was appointed to have the custody of these virgins; whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he shewed her favour before all the other virgins under his care; and therefore he assigned her the best apartment of the house, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the king's use, was to go through a course of purification by sweet oils and perfumes for a whole year; and therefore Hadassah having been by the favour of the chamberlain, of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the king's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it.

The term therefore of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the king, who was so well pleased with her, that he often again called her by name; which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of Esther; for it is of a Persian original; the signification of it is not now known.

An. 460. Artax. 5.

The [k] Egyptians being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themselves from it, rebelled against Artaxerxes, and, making Inarus prince of the Lybians, their king, called in the Athenians to their assistance, who, having then a fleet of 200 sail at Cyprus, gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for Egypt, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the Persian power, by driving them out of that country.

Artaxerxes, on the hearing of this revolt, [l] made ready an army of 300,000 men for the suppressing of it, proposing himself to march into Egypt at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this expedition, he committed it to the care of Achæmenides, one of his brothers. [m] Herodotus and [n] Diodorus Siculus say, that it was Achæmines, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this

[k] Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias.
[l] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Ctesias.
[m] Herodot. lib. 3. et lib. 7.
[n] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

MARE MEDITERRANEUM
ÆGYPTUS INFERIOR
HEPTANOMIS
THEBAIS SIVE
ÆGYPTUS SUPERIOR
ARABIA PETRÆA
PALÆSTINÆ
SINUS ARABICUS
ÆTHIOPIA
Adrymachidæ
Sinus Heroopolitanus
Sinus Elanitanus
Desertum Sur
Desertum Taran
Desertum Etham
Desertum Sin
Oasis Magna
Tropicus Cancri
ÆGYPTUS
ANTIQUA.

war: but herein they were deceived by the similitude of the names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with his army into Egypt.

Achæmenides, being arrived in Egypt with his numerous army, encamped on the river Nile. In the interim, [o] the Athenians having beaten the Persian fleet at sea, and destroyed or taken 50 of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and, having landed their forces, under the command of Charitimis, their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians; whereon, falling on Achæmenides with their joint forces, they overthrew him in a great battle, killing 100,000 of his men, and among them Achæmenides himself. The remainder fled to Memphis, where the victors pursuing them, took two parts of the town: but the Persians securing themselves in the third, called the white wall, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief. An. 459. Artax. 6.

Artaxerxes having received an account of the defeat of his army in Egypt, and what part the Athenians bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed against him, [p] he sent an ambassador to the Lacedæmonians, with great sums of money, to induce them to make war upon the Athenians; but, they not being by any means to be wrought to it, Artaxerxes resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an army into Attica, with Themistocles at the head of it; which he thought could not fail of making them recal their forces out of Egypt, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And [q] accordingly orders were sent to Themistocles to prepare for the expedition; and an army and a fleet were drawing towards the Ionian coast to be committed to his conduct for this purpose. But Themistocles not knowing how to decline the command, by reason of the great benefits he had received from the king, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion, and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his country, to extricate himself from this difficulty, resolved to An. 458. Artax. 7.

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[o] Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.
[p] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.
[q] Plutarchus in Themistocle.

put an end to his life; and therefore, inviting all his friends together, and having sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of his blood, and so died. But [r] there are others that say, this was done not so much out of a love to his country, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of Cimon, who, being then general of the Athenians, carried victory with him wherever he went. But, had this been all the matter, so wise and valiant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It is possible he might have beaten Cimon; if not, it would have been time enough for him to have saved his credit this way, by dying in battle when vanquished; and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught. In [s] the interim, Artabazus governor of Cilicia, and Megabyzus governor of Syria, were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the white wall, and for the carrying on of the Egyptian war. This [t] Megabyzus was the son of Zopyrus, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which Xerxes led into Greece, whose daughter Amytis he had married; but she having very much abused his bed by her frequent adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it; and that not only with her, but also with the whole royal family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced Artabanus to communicate to him the plot, which he had contrived against the life of Artaxerxes after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But Megabyzus, abhorring the treason, made discovery of the whole to Artaxerxes, and gave him that counsel, which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And, after the death of Artabanus, he headed the king's forces against the partizans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct, that they were suppressed, and Artaxerxes secured on the throne; and, in the accomplishing of this, he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the king's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commission for the reduction of Egypt.

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[r] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle et Cimone.
[s] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus, lib. 11. Ctesias.
[t] Herodotus, lib. 3. in fine, & lib. 7. Ctesias.

In the beginning of this year [u] Ezra obtained of king Artaxerxes, and his seven chief counsellors, a very ample commission for his return to Jerusalem, with all of his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the state, and reform the church of the Jews, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the solicitation of Esther, who was now become the best beloved of all the king's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of queen. For it was [x] usual for the kings of Persia, on some particular days and occasions, to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased, and upon some such time or occasion it is most likely Esther, by the direction of Mordecai, though she had not yet discovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the king. This Ezra was of the descendants of Seraiah the high-priest, who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar, when he burned the temple and city of Jerusalem. That he was the immediate son of Seraiah is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this Seraiah, he must now have been 132, and [y] yet we find him alive in the time of Nehemiah 15 years after, when, according to this account, he must have been 147 years old, though he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole forenoon together to all the people of the Jews; which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days; and therefore where he is said to be the son of Seraiah, it must be understood in that large sense wherein commonly, in scripture, any descendant is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no farther for an instance of this, than the very text where Ezra is said to be the son of Seraiah; for in the same place Azariah is said to be the son of Meraioth, though there were [z] six between. As Ezra was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skilled in the knowledge of the holy scriptures; and therefore he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God: which he was so eminent for, that Artaxerxes [a] takes particular notice of it in his commission. [b] He began his journey from Babylon on the first day of the first month,

[u] Ezra vii.
[x] Herodotus, lib. 9.
[y] Nehemiah viii.
[z] See 2 Chron. vi. 7—9.
[a] Ezra vii. 12.
[b] Ezra viii.

called Nisan (which might fall about the middle of our March,) and having halted at the river Ahava till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there, in a solemn fast, recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then, on the 12th day, set forward for Jerusalem, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from Babylon thither. On his arrival, he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the king and his nobles, and the rest of the people of Israel that staid behind, which amounted to 100 talents of gold, with 20 basons of gold of the value of 1000 [c] Darics, and 650 talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of 100 talents more. And then, having communicated his commission to the king's lieutenants and governors throughout all Syria and Palestine, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby [d] he was fully impowered to settle both the church and the state of the Jews according to the law of Moses, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power Ezra was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of 13 years, till Nehemiah arrived with a new commission from the Persian court for the same work.

Esther [e] growing farther still in the king's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the 10th day of the 10th month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her queen in the stead of Vashti; and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called Esther's Feast, and, in honour of her, at the same time, made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave Ezra the greater encouragement under her protection and patronage to go on with the work of reforming and settling the Jewish church and state in Judea and Jerusalem, which he had there undertaken.

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[c] A Daric was a piece of gold of the value of one of our Jacobuses. See above, Book 2.

[d] Ezra vii. 25, 26. [e] Esther ii.

And from his entering on this work, the beginning of the 70 weeks of the famous prophecy which is delivered to us, in the 9th chapter of Daniel, concerning the coming of the Messiah, is to be computed. The words of the prophecy, in our English translation, are as followeth.

Ver. 24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy:" ver. 25. "Know therefore, and understand, that, from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks, the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times:" ver. 26. "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the war desolations are determined:" ver. 27. "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the desolate."

And it being of great moment, for the conviction of Jews and other infidels who reject the faith of Christ, to have this prophecy well cleared, and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,

I. That this prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the Jews. For it expresseth the time that was determined upon the people of Daniel, that is, the Jews, and upon the holy city, that is, Jerusalem, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had foreordained and determined upon the Jews for their being his peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city; after the expiration of which, an end being to be put to the Mosaic œconomy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at Jerusalem being to be abolished, that city should be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. That these 70 weeks are weeks of years: for among the Jews, as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days; so their were [f] sabbatical years,

[f] Levit. xxv. 8.

whereby their years were divided into weeks of years; and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned: so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of 70 weeks contain 490 years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the Jews were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor Jerusalem his holy city, because then the œconomy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at Jerusalem, was wholly to be abolished. And,

III. All this was accomplished at the death of Christ: for then the Jewish church, and the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, were wholly abolished, and the Christian church and the Christian worship succeeded in their stead; then the time, which was determined upon the Jews for their being God's peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth began the kingdom of the Messiah; and, instead of the Jews, all the nations of the world were called thereunto, and instead of Jerusalem, every place through the whole earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the 70 weeks of this prophecy must have their ending: for they were determined and decreed for this purpose; and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this all the events, which are in this prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the 24th verse, we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these 70 weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following. 1st, *To finish* (or [g] restrain) *transgression*; 2d. *To* [h] *make an end*

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[g] The word Lecalle in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish, and the former rather than the latter.

[h] Here is a various reading in the Hebrew text as to the word which we translate *to make an end of*. For whereas the true reading is LEHATEM, that is, *to finish or make an end of*, and, in the next line after, there is the word LACHTOM, which there signifieth to seal up; and these two words as to the letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the similitude that is between these two letters in the Hebrew alphabet (for they differ very little the one from the other,) led transcribers into this mistake, that they wrote the word as if it were LACHTOM in both places. But it is corrected

of sins; 3d, *To make* [i] (expiation or) *reconciliation for iniquity;* 4th, *To bring in everlasting righteousness;* 5th, *To seal up* (or [k] complete and fulfil) *vision and prophecy;* and 6th, *To anoint the most holy.* And all these were accomplished in that great work of our salvation, which Christ our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and passion, and his resurrection from the dead; for being born without original sin, and having lived without actual sin, he was truly *the most holy* of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghost, and with power, to be our King, and our Priest, and our Prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having, as our Priest, offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross, to make expiation and atonement for all our sins, he did thereby *make an end of them,* by taking away their guilt; and, in so doing, *he did work reconciliation* for us with our God. And, having, as our Prophet, giving unto us his gospel, the law of *everlasting righteousness,* which was not a temporary law, as was that of Moses, but to last for ever, and to be our guide unto all righteousness, as long as the world should last; and also, having, as our King, sent his holy Spirit into our hearts, to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby *to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of transgressions,* and fully deliver us from the power of them. And, in doing all this, *he hath sealed up,* that is, *fulfilled, and thoroughly finished all that, which, by visions and prophecies, had been before revealed concerning him.* And therefore all these events being thus brought to pass and accomplished at the time of Christ's death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. The end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of Christ, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that is, 490 years before. And therefore

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in the margin. However this would not have altered the sense, because the same word, which signifieth *to seal up* in Hebrew, is also used to signify *to finish* or *make complete,* because the putting of the seal to any instrument or writing, completes the matter about which it is, and finisheth the whole transaction.

[i] The word in the Hebrew text properly signifieth *to expiate as by sacrifice;* and by such an expiation did Christ our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God.

[k] See note [h].

the death of Christ, as most learned men agree, falling [l] in the year of the Julian period 4746, and in the Jewish month [m] Nisan, if we reckon 490 years backward, this will lead us up to the month Nisan, in the year of the Julian period 4256, which was the very year and month [n] in which Ezra had his commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, for his return to Jerusalem, there to restore the church and state of the Jews; for that year of the Julian period, according to Ptolemy's canon, was the 7th year of that king's reign, [o] in which the scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning, therefore, of the 70 weeks, or 490 years of this prophecy, was in the month Nisan of the Jewish year, in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and in the 4256th year of the Julian period, when Ezra had his commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of Nisan, in the 4746th year of the Julian period, in which very year and very month Christ our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation, there being just 70 weeks of years, or 490 years, from the one to the other.

V. It is evident, from the prophecy itself, that these weeks must have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commission granted Ezra. For, 1*st*, They are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text; and, 2*dly*, They cannot, agreeable to that and other scriptures, and the authentic histories of the times to which they relate, have it any where else.

And 1*st*, These weeks must have their beginning from the date of the commission granted Ezra, because they are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text; and that character is *the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem:* for that from thence the 70 weeks must have their beginning, [p] the text is very express; and, to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, *Know therefore, and understand.* But this commandment or decree was that which was granted to Ezra in that commission with which he was sent into Judea,

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[l] Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Usherus in Annalibus sub anno J. P. 4746. Strachius, aliique.

[m] Christ suffered at the time of the passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month Nisan.

[n] Ezra vii. 9. There it is said in the first month, and the first month of the Jewish year was Nisan.

[o] Ezra vii. 7. [p] Daniel ix. 25.

in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia; and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence. For the words in the text, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, are not be understood literally, but figuratively, for the restoring of the state of the Jews, as well the political as the ecclesiastical, and the re-settling of both, according to the law of Moses. And what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? and what is more common in scripture, than by Jerusalem to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people? and for the re-establishing of both these, and the setting of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the Babylonians, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the commission granted to Ezra was very full: for [q] it gave him thorough power to restore the law of Moses, and fully re-establish the observance of it both in church and state, and to appoint magistrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all such as should be disobedient thereto, either with death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this Ezra accordingly executed, in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to Jerusalem with this commission, the scriptures were in a manner lost, the people in a profound ignorance of the law, and the worship of God neglected, and every thing else, both in church and state, in great disorder and confusion. But, on his coming, he restored the scriptures, instructed the people in the law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but, as a priest, as a skilful scribe in the law of God, and as president of the Sanhedrim, [r] he still carried on the same work; and having a successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his authority as formerly he did by his own: so that he hath been esteemed as another Moses, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the Jewish church and state. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble epocha from whence to begin the calculation of these weeks,

[q] See the commission in the 7th chapter of Ezra, ver. 11—26.

[r] Nehemiah viii.

and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this prophecy, in which they are predicted: for the whole intent and purpose of it is, to foreshew and set forth the age of the restored church of the Jews, how long it was to continue, and when to cease, and be abolished; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when Ezra, by virtue of the commission granted to him by Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, in the 7th year of his reign, did set about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of these weeks, according to the prophecy that predicts them, must begin. And, that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal sense: for, if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, than that which was decreed and commanded by Cyrus at the release of the captivity; for this prophecy was revealed to Daniel before this release, and therefore, when it is said therein, that the epocha of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to restore and build Jerusalem, of what decree can it be more properly understood, than of that, which should first be granted next after this prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, and was again repeopled, and inhabited by the same people who had been its former inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of Cyrus' decree, appears from many places of scripture. We are told in Isaiah (xliv. 28.) that "it was Cyrus that should say to Jerusalem, Be thou built, and to the temple, Thy foundations shall be laid." And again (ch. xlv. 13.) it is said of the same Cyrus, that "God would raise him up, and direct him, that he should build this city, and release his captives;" where it is to be observed, that he that released God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the person that was to rebuild Jerusalem; so that he is not only by name, but also by this character and description, plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that Cyrus did release the captive Jews, who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after reign,) is well known. And therefore, according to these passages of holy scripture, it must be he only

that did restore and rebuild Jerusalem. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree which he granted for the return of the Jews thither: for can it be imagined, that Cyrus should grant licence for the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city also? Ezra plainly tells us, that as soon as the Jews were returned into Judea, by virtue of Cyrus' decree, [s] they dispersed themselves into the several cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? For without rebuilding of them, how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other cities of Judah rebuilt, and dwelt in them again, how can we think, that those who belonged to Jerusalem, did not do the same, and that especially since it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where the temple stood, where all went up continually to worship, and where three times a-year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn festivals, and where also the governor dwelt, where the council sat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute; when the Jews on their return rebuilt their other cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt Jerusalem also. The great concourse, which the reasons I have mentioned constrantly drew thither, must have necessitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the cities of Judah to have been left still in their rubbish, after the return of the Jews from their captivity, than that this city alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the commission of Cyrus. As we have it recorded in the first chapter of Ezra, that only gives licence "to the Jews to return into Judea, and there rebuild the house of God which is in Jerusalem." But the licence to rebuild the house of God which is in Jerusalem, must either imply a licence to rebuild Jerusalem also, or else (which seems most probable) Ezra gives us in the place mentioned, only an abstract of the chief things granted by that licence, and not a recital of the whole; in which, most likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the other cities of Judah, might be fully and expressly mentioned; for it is certain, by virtue of that licence, they had power so to do; and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to

[s] Ezra ii. 1. & iii. 2.

the Persian court against them that were returned was, [t] That "they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad city, and had set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it;" and the order from Artaxerxes (so the Magian who then reigned, it seems, called himself) was, [u] "To cause the Jews to cease, that this city be not builded." However, from the first of Cyrus, till the time of this order, 14 years having elapsed, the rebuilding of Jerusalem had by that time gone a great way; for, within two years after, we find the prophet Haggai complaining of the Jews at Jerusalem, "[x] That they dwelt in cieled houses, while they let the house of God lie waste." From all this it plainly appears, that Jerusalem, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, was again rebuilt, by virtue of the decree which Cyrus granted, in the first year of his reign, for the release and restoration of the Jews. And therefore, if these words of the prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that city, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that decree; and the computation of the 70 weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun so high, the 490 years of the said 70 weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those events which are predicted by this prophecy: for, from the first of Cyrus, to the death of Christ, were 568 years; and therefore, if the said 490 years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off or the coming of the Messiah, which ought both to fall within the compass of them, according to the express words of this prophecy. It evidently, therefore, follows from hence, that the words of this prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, cannot be understood in a literal sense: for the sum of the whole argument is thus: If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of Jerusalem which was accomplished by virtue of Cyrus' decree, and the computation of the 70 weeks, or the 490 years thereof, must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence, for the reason mentioned; and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem. And this Ezra effected, by virtue

[t] Ezra iv. 12. [u] Ezra iv. 21. [x] Haggai i. 4.

of the command or decree which was granted to him, for this purpose, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus: and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed. And this will be farther proved, if we consider,

2dly, That it can be placed no where else, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the prophecy and the accomplishing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees issued out by the kings of Persia in favour of the Jews, from one of which, according to the express words of the prophecy, the computation of these weeks is to be begun; the first [y] granted by Cyrus in the first year of his reign, the [z] second by Darius, about the fourth year of his reign, the third [a] by Artaxerxes to Ezra, in the seventh year of his reign, and [b] the fourth by the same Artaxerxes to Nehemiah, in the 20th year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of Cyrus, nor from that of Darius, nor from that of the 20th of Artaxerxes, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of Artaxerxes granted to Ezra. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall shew in their order.

And, 1*st*, As to the decree of Cyrus, the 490 years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence, for the reason already said, that is, because if they begin from thence, they cannot by a great many years, reach the events predicted by this prophecy, and therefore none who understand this prophecy to relate either to the cutting off, or the coming of the Messiah, do begin them from hence; for, according to this computation, no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2dly, Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted by Darius: but there having been three Dariuses that reigned in Persia, Darius Hystaspes, Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, it is to be first inquired which of these three it was that granted this decree, and then secondly, it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And, first, of these three Dariuses it is certain, it could not be Darius Codomannus: for if the 490 years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this prophecy by many more years than they will fall short of them, if reckoned from the first of Cyrus; and therefore no

[y] Ezra i.
[z] Ezra vi.
[a] Ezra vii.
[b] Nehemiah ii.

one hath ever said, that he was the Darius that granted this decree. But Scaliger, and many others following his authority, have said it of Darius Nothus. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be Darius Nothus; but it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes, the first of these three that reigned in Persia, and none other, by whom this decree was issued out: for he, who, according to Ezra, granted this decree, is the same Darius, of whom mention is made [c] in Haggai and Zechariah; but that Darius could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes. For first, from the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, to the reign of Darius Nothus, were 165 years: but from the destruction of it, to the time of the second decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than 70 years, according to the prophet Zechariah. For we find [d] in the book of his prophecies, that, in the 4th year of the same Darius who granted this decree to the Jews (which was also the year in which it was published at Jerusalem,) the fast of the fifth month, [e] in which they had mourned for the destruction of the temple, and the fast of the 7th month, [f] in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of Gedaliah, had been observed just 70 years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that text, but that their mourning for these calamities had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be Darius Nothus, but it must be some other Darius then reigning in Persia, within the reach of the said 70 years, who granted this decree; and that since the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes was just 70 years from the time in which the city and temple of Jerusalem were destroyed by the Chaldeans (as hath been before observed,) this other Darius must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes.

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[c] Ezra v. 1. vi. 14. Hag. i. 1—15. Zechariah i. 1—7. & vii. 1.

[d] Zechariah vii. 5.

[e] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12. The Jews observe this fast on the ninth of Ab, which is their fifth month, even to this day.

[f] 2 Kings xxv. 25. Jer. xli. 1. The Jews observe this fast on the third day of Tisri, which is their 7th month, even to this day; and both these fast days, that of the third of Tisri, and the other of the ninth of Ab, are marked on those days in all their kalendars.

It must be acknowledged, that the same prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of 70 years in the second of Darius two years before. But these were not the 70 years of mourning for the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, but [g] *the seventy years in which God had expressed his indignation against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah;* which are to be computed from the time that [h] Nebuchadnezzar came up against Judah, and besieged Jerusalem, for which the Jews fasted in the 10th month; and this was two years before that city was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of Jerusalem was in the 11th year of Zedekiah; but the first besieging of it, was in the [h] 9th year of Zedekiah, and in the 10th month of that year. But [i] Scaliger, instead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to speak for him; and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in Zechariah [k] to have been observed on the fourth and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the 10th month, could not be appointed, but by the church of the Jews, by which I suppose he meaneth the Sanhedrim, or some other convention of priests and elders representing that church. But neither the Sanhedrim, nor any other convention representing that church, could come together, or make any such constitution after the calamities which these fasts commemorated, till the Jews were returned from their captivity, and again settled in Judah and Jerusalem; and therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the 70 years observing of them, which Zechariah speaks of, commence till after that time. But 70 years from any time after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of Darius Hystaspes; and therefore it could not be the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes, but it must be the fourth year of the Darius, the next of that name who reigned after him in Persia (and that was Darius Nochus,) in which these fasts were spoken of by that prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal constitution of the whole

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[g] Zechariah i. 12.

[h] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. & lii. 4. The Jews observe this fast in the tenth day of Tebeth (which is their 10th month) even to this day, and call it the fast for the first siege of Jerusalem in all their kalendars.

[i] De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 602.

[k] Zechariah vii. 5. & viii. 19.

Jewish church for the observing of these fasts. The calamities which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common consent; and if not, yet what should hinder, but that the priests and elders might meet together in Babylon, while there in captivity, and, in that place, as well as if they had been at Jerusalem, hold conventions for the making of such a constitution? If the book of Baruch be to be credited in any thing, [l] that tells us of such a convention in Babylon, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the book of Ezekiel, which is of undoubted, because of divine authority, that [m] the elders of Israel in Babylon met more than once to ask counsel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when [n] Sherezer and Regem-Melech came to Jerusalem to ask counsel of the prophets and priests there, in the name and behalf of the Jews of Babylon, about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other, than a convention of the priests and elders in that place met together for this purpose? It is certain, that most of the constitutions that are now observed by the Jews, [o] were made in the land of Babylon, by conventions of their elders, after the last destruction of Jerusalem (for all that are in the Babylonish Gemara were there made.) And why then might not a constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like convention after the first destruction of that city? and why there might not be a Sanhedrim in Babylon, during the captivity of the Jews, I cannot see. The temple service was indeed confined to Jerusalem; but the Sanhedrim was no part of it. That was a national council which might be assembled wherever

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[l] Baruch i. Although perchance this book be no more than a religious romance, yet such romances do usually so accommodate their fables to the usages and customs of the people, and times of which they treat, as not to ascribe any other to them than such as have been of known use and practice in them; and therefore these books may be of some authority for usages and customs, although not for history.

[m] Ezek. vii. 1. and xiv. 1.

[n] Zech. vii. 1—3.

[o] The Jews had in the land of Babylon three universities, Sora, Naherda, and Pombeditha, where they had their public schools, and public conventions of their principal doctors and learned men; and in these the constitutions that are in the Babylonish Gemara were all made.

the nation was. And therefore, when the whole nation of the Jews was removed into the land of Babylon, who can give a reason why this national council should not be there also, and there meet and consult together for the common interest of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own. We are told by the Jewish writers, that, from the time of Alexander the Great, there was [p] a Sanhedrim in Alexandria in Egypt, for the sake only of a colony of the Jews that was there planted, even while Judea and Jerusalem were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at Babylon, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It is plain from hence, that, in every part of this argument, Scaliger begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing that he would infer from them. But, *2dly*, That the Darius who granted this second decree could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes, will farther appear from the part which Joshua the high-priest and Zerubbabel the governor acted in it; for they [q] were the persons who were sent to Jerusalem with the first decree that was granted by Cyrus, and they also [r] executed the second decree that was granted by Darius. But if this Darius was Darius Nothus, supposing Joshua to have been 40 years old at the granting of Cyrus' decree (and less at that time he could not be, he having then [s] sons in the work of the temple of 20 years old and upward,) and supposing Zerubbabel to be 30 years old (and a less age could not comport with his office,) the former must have been 157, and the other 147 years old, when this second decree granted by Darius was executed by them; which is utterly improbable. [t] Scaliger, to make out the probability of it, brings instances of several long-livers. I deny not, it is possible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is, that of 157. For we have had [u] a Par who hath come nigh it, and a Jenkinson who hath

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[p] Gemarah Hierosol. in Succah, fol. 55. Gemara Babylonica in Succah, fol. 51.

[q] Ezra ii. 2. and iii. 8, &c.

[r] Ezra v. 6. Hag. i. 2. Zech. iii. and iv.

[s] Ezra iii. 8, 9.

[t] De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 603. & in Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii, sub anno 1497. p. 97.

[u] Par lived to the age of 152. and Jenkinson to that of 169. See Sir William Temple's Tracts.

out-lived it. But that two together, and colleagues in the same work and business, should live so long, is not likely. But, 3*dly*, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this Darius, which we have in the 2d chapter of Haggai, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* For this text doth plainly express, that some were then alive who had seen the first temple, and well remembered the beauty and glory of it; and therefore, if this Darius were Darius Nothus, they must have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of Joshua, or that of Zerubbabel above mentioned. For, from the 11th year of Zedekiah, in which the temple was destroyed, to the 2d of Darius Nothus, had passed 166 years; and therefore, supposing these persons, who are here said to have seen the first temple, and remembered the glory of it, had been then seven years old (which is the lowest that can be allowed for such a remembering) they must have been of the age of 173 in the second year of Darius Nothus. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text seems to express,) or any at all among the people, should then be found of so great an age? Scaliger himself thinks this improbable; and therefore to evade the strength of the argument, which is from hence brought against him, he [x] would turn the words, of the sacred text to speak thus, *Oh! if any among you had seen the glory of the first house*, &c. But the text will not bear this interpretation. 4*thly*, The series of the kings of Persia, as mentioned in Ezra, plainly makes the Darius, who granted this second decree in favour of the Jews, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire; and the fourth king therein all agree was Darius Hystaspes; for after Cyrus, who was the first, succeeded Cambyses the second, and after him was the Magian the third, and then was Darius Hystaspes the fourth. And in the same order are these kings mentioned in Ezra in respect to the temple and the rebuilding of it; for he [y] tells us, that, during the reign of Cyrus, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, yet the work was discouraged all his reign, through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the Samaritans: that, in the be-

[x] De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.
[y] Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

ginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, who next succeeded, (*i. e.* Cambyses,) the king himself, being wrote to, discouraged the work, but made no decree against it, out of respect, it is supposed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But Artaxerxes, the next that reigned (*i. e.* the Magian, having no such regard to what Cyrus had ordered, made a decree against the work; whereon it wholly ceased (which it had not done before) for the space of [z] two years, until the second year of Darius. This Darius, therefore, must be Darius Hystaspes, and none other; for he it was that was the fourth of those kings that reigned over the Persian empire. And the prophecy of Daniel (ch. xi.) helps to make this out: for there (ver. 2.) the words are, "There shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." By which it appears, that the four kings here spoken of were those who were to reign in Persia after him that was then reigning: and he that was king of Persia at that time was Cyrus. And it is, from the same words, most manifest, that the fourth was Xerxes; and therefore, according to this place of scripture, there were between Cyrus and Xerxes three kings in Persia: and Herodotus and other historians say the same, and thus name them, 1. Cambyses, 2. Smerdis, the Magian, and, 3. Darius Hystaspes; and therefore, since the scripture doth name in the same order, after Cyrus, these three as kings of Persia, 1. Ahasuerus, 2. Artaxerxes, and, 3. Darius, no doubt they were the same persons; and this Darius, the third of them, was he that granted the second decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. But, against all this, the short time that was between the granting of the first decree by Cyrus, and the second year of Darius Hystaspes, is made an objection; and they being men of great name who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, although other-

[z] So saith the writer of the first apocryphal book of Esdras, v. 73. And although he be an apocryphal writer, and is, in most things where he doth not translate from the canonical book of Ezra, very fabulous, yet, in this particular, he may well be supposed to deliver himself according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the histories then extant; and this was very ancient; for it is certain he wrote before Josephus; and an ancienter evidence than this we cannot have from any writer, since the scriptures of the Old Testament, concerning this matter.

wise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus: from the time of the granting of Cyrus' decree, to the second of Darius Hystaspes, were no more than sixteen years; and therefore, if it were then that the resuming of the work of the temple gave occasion [a] for the searching of the records for this decree, and it were that Darius who, on the finding of the decree, granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all; for, say they, what need was there of searching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? the thing might then have been well enough remembered, without going to the records for the proof of it. Darius Hystaspes was himself (they proceeded to argue) bred in Cyrus' court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembered this thing, without ordering the records to be searched for it; and, if not, yet many of his counsellors and courtiers might. And, therefore, from hence they infer, that it could not be Darius Hystaspes that granted this decree, but it must necessarily have been another Darius reigning after him, in whose time the granting of Cyrus' decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man; and that could be none other than Darius Nothus. The whole, therefore, of this argument, goes upon this supposition, that public records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the chancery here in England remember all the grants and decrees that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? can the chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in office? or, if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, seal that latter decree, or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance, in general, of some things there transacted even for sixteen years past, yet, amidst the variety and multiplicity of business which pass in such a court, and where the quick succession of new matters frequently croud out of the mind all thoughts of all those

[a] Ezra vi.

that preceded, whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed, without having recourse to the records, where all is exactly set down and registered? and how can any thing be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a realm as this of England, how could it be done for so large and vast an empire as that of Persia, [b] which was above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for grants and decrees forty times as many. It is scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things, as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that empire, could have been all distinctly remembered by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years? As to the memory of Darius himself, Herodotus [c] tells us, he was but twenty years old when Cyrus died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when this decree was granted for the return of the Jews; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of Darius, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every courtier called to be a witness of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the royal signature? or, rather are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And, if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great revolutions in kings courts, especially in those of arbitrary princes, where not only men's places, but also their lives, depend wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the Persian court at that time? Cambyses, who succeeded Cyrus, [d] cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour, and very trivial occasions only, destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the Magian, who, no doubt, upon that usurpation, provided himself with such a new set of officers and attendants as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the imposture by which he reigned. And, on his death, there being a new revolution, and a new king chosen, most likely this produced another change of officers and ministers at the court, and by that time many must have

[b] The scripture tells us, that it reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained, in the time of Cyrus, 120 provinces, and afterwards seven more were added to them. See Dan. vi. 1. and Esther i. 1.

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. non longe a fine.

[d] Herodot. lib. 3.

gone off the stage by natural death: so that, whether any at all that had been officers in Cyrus' court, when he granted his decree in favour of the Jews, were in Darius' court, in the second year of his reign, then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it is most likely that none of them were. And, therefore, nothing that is said from this head, for the proving that it could not be Darius Hystaspes that granted the decree above mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability of for it. But, on the contrary, they who, for the sake of this argument, put the granting of this decree as low as the time of Darius Nothus, do thereby afford a much stronger argument against themselves than this can be for them; for this will put the finishing of the second temple at the distance of 118 years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of Artaxerxes made it cease? If they allow this Artaxerxes to be the third Persian king, as he is reckoned [c] in scripture, that is the Magian, who reigned next after Cambyses, then, from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again, will be full 100 years: and, in so long a time of intermission, how could they so preserve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for, after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finished in a little more than three years time. But if they say it was not the Magian, who was the Artaxerxes in the scriptures that caused the work to cease, but he that is first named in the catalogue which we have of the Persian kings in profane history, that is, Artaxerxes Longimanus, then, from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it will be 71 years. And, in this case, it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of these questions can be answered; and therefore, taking either of these ways, the argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves, that it could not be Darius Nothus, but that it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second temple was finished. And, upon this supposition, all will be easy and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding will be thus:

[c] Ezra iv. 7.

Cyrus, in the first year of his reign over the whole Persian empire, granted his decree to the Jews for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem: the next year after they began the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the Magian caused it to cease. But two years after, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who slew the Magian, and succeeded him in the throne, it was, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, again resumed, and, about a year and a half after, they obtained a decree from Darius to authorise them therein; and then, in a little more than three years time after, they finished the whole work. And thus far having shewn, that the Darius who granted the second decree in favour of the Jews, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, could be none other than Darius Hystaspes, the remaining part of the argument is, that therefore the 70 weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason whereby it hath been above shewn, that they could not begin from the decree of Cyrus, that is, because the 490 years of these weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this prophecy predicted to fall within the compass of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the Messiah: for this decree I reckon was brought to Jerusalem in the fourth year of Darius. The Jews indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the second year of Darius; but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But, from the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes, to the death of Christ, were 550 years; and therefore, reckoning the 70 weeks, or their 490 years, from thence, they will expire 60 years before the death of Christ, and 24 years before the birth of Christ; and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the Messiah, nor the coming of the Messiah, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in: and these two are the grand events predicted by this prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this head, that this decree of Darius seems not to accord or agree with the description of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the prophecy: for the words of the text are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*, which plainly imply an original decree, which this of Darius was not; for it was no more

than an [f] exemplification and confirmation of that which was before granted by Cyrus. And if it be not such a decree as the prophecy intended, it is certain the 70 weeks, or their 490 years, cannot begin from thence.

3*dly*, Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes in the 20th year of his reign. And, in the clearing of this particular, I must take the same method as in the former: for, as there were three Dariuses, so also were there three Artaxerxeses, which, according to ancient historians, reigned over the empire of the Persians, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus. And therefore, first, it must be inquired which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then, secondly, it shall be shewn that the computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And, first, as to which of these three Artaxerxeses it was that granted this decree to Nehemiah, it is certain it must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, who reigned immediately after Xerxes over the Persian empire. For it was that Artaxerxes who was contemporary with Eliashib the high priest of the Jews, he being high priest [g] at the time when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem with this decree, which was in the 20th year of that king: but no other Artaxerxes, but he that was called Longimanus, could be contemporary with Eliashib; and therefore none other but he could be the Artaxerxes that granted this decree. For the age which Joiakim, the father of Eliashib, must then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it should be Artaxerxes Mnemon; and it would make it much more so, as to Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him: For supposing Eliashib, who was high priest in the 20th year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah, had then been 20 years in that office, his father Joiakim, if this Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Mnemon, must then, upon this supposition, have died in the last year of Darius Nothus, at which time Joiakim must have been at least 151 years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in Ezra, that Jeshua, [h] the father of Joiakim, at the first return of the Jews to Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity, [i] had sons of 20 years old and upward employed in the work of the temple; and since the high priesthood among the Jews went by succession according to the primogeniture, and Joiakim succeeded Jeshua

[f] Ezra vi.
[g] Nehemiah iii. 1.
[h] Neh. xii. 10, 22.
[i] Ezra iii. 8, 9.

in it, it cannot be doubted but that Joiakim was one of those his sons, who were thus employed, and the eldest of them; and if he were 20 years old at this time, he must then have been 151 in the last of Darius Nothus: for [k] from the first of Cyrus to the last of Darius Nothus, were 131 years. The improbability of this sufficiently proves, that it could not be Artaxerxes Mnemon who granted this decree to Nehemiah. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him; because then Joiakim must have been 46 years older. Besides, there is this farther argument, that Artaxerxes Ochus could not be the person; because in scripture there is mention made of the [l] 32d year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah, but Artaxerxes Ochus reigned [m] only 21 years in all. And if it were not Artaxerxes Mnemon, nor Artaxerxes Ochus, it must then necessarily follow, that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and none other, that granted the decree to Nehemiah in the 20th year of his reign. And thus far the first part of the argument being cleared, the second is, that the computation of the 70 weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifested by the calculation of the years: for, reckoning from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, there will be no more than 477 years; and therefore, if the 490 years of the 70 weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of Christ 13 years; which being the grand event to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

But several great and learned men, having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

The first way which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the 70 weeks or the 490 years of this prophecy by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath Africanus for its author, who flourished in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by Theodoret, Beda Zonarus, Rupertus, and others; and the generality of the

[k] Canon. Ptol. [l] Nehemiah xiii. 6. [m] Canon. Ptol.

Romish doctors strike in with this opinion, into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar Latin translation, which they have decreed in their Trentine council to be authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people*, &c. This translation renders it, *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum*, i. e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people*; from whence they argue this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality; it cannot be in their number: for, the text absolutely determines that to 70 weeks of years, that is, 490 years, and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years, and not solar years, which are longer years. But the Hebrew word Nechtach in the text will not bear this interpretation; for the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, *Are decided or determined*, as in our English version; and in this sense it is used in the [n] Chaldee Paraphrase, and no where in any other. I confess, the word doth not occur any where else in the whole Hebrew Bible, or any other word of that root; and in the Septuagint it is rendered, συετμηθησαν. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it; for lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short of it. For, whereas the 477 solar years which were from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, fall 13 years short of the 490 years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it; the same 477 years, when converted into lunar years, making 491 years, and 246 days over, do carry us one year and 246 days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said 490 years: and therefore, this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, although not so wide as it was before. Besides, when Daniel had this prophecy revealed unto him by the angel Gabriel, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then any where in use. The Chaldean year at that time was most certainly the Nabonassarean year, [o] consisting of 365 days, and the [p] Egyptian year was the same, and

[n] In Esther iv. 3.

[o] Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque.

[p] Vide Marshami Canonem Chronicum, p. 215. Edit. Lips.

so was also [q] the Persian. The [r] Jews indeed had their common years purely lunar, consisting of 12 lunar months, and so had [s] the Greeks, only with this difference, that whereas the Jews' lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the Greeks, mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of 30 days, in compounding of their year of 12 of them, made it amount to 360 days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But, besides the common years, they had also intercalated years intermixed with the common years, which reduced all to the solar form; for what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the Jews as well as the Greeks were necessitated to by their festivals: for the Nisan of the Jewish year, [t] which begun their ecclesiastical year, being pinned down by their passover, (which was always celebrated [u] in the middle of it,) to the [x] time of the beginning of their harvest; and the month of Tisri, [y] which began their civil year, being likewise pinned down by the feast of tabernacles, (which was always celebrated [z] in the middle of that month,) to the time [a] of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them [b] to fling in an intercalary month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the Greeks were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their Olympiads. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games, being [c] the first full moon after

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[q] Quintus Curtius, lib. 3. c. 3.

[r] Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Marshami Canon. Chron. p. 290, 291. Edit. Lips.

[s] Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. c. De Anno Marshami Canon Chron. 657—659.

[t] Maimonides, ibid. Exod. xii. 2. Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4.

[u] Exod. xii. 18. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16.

[x] Levit. xxiii. 10. Deut. xvi. 9.

[y] Exod. xxiii. 16. Talmud in Tract Rosh Hashanah.

[z] Levit. xxiii. 34, 39. Numb. xxix. 12.

[a] Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deut. xvi. 9.

[b] Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. c. De Anno veterum Hebræorum Autumnali. Josephus, lib. 1. c. 4. Marshami Canon Chron. p. 190. Edit. Lips.

[c] Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. c. De Anno, et c. de Periculo Olympico; et Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, in Paralip. 830. Et Rationar. Temp. part 2. lib. 3. c. 1.

the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later, in the solar year; and there being just four years between Olympiad and Olympiad, this necessarily made these years to be solar years, and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it; and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The Arabs indeed, from the time of Mahomet, have used a year purely lunar, and the Turks do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect; but of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had also intercalcated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore, whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think then, that in the collective sum of 70 weeks, or the 490 years of them, the angel should intend a computation which was then no where in practice, the whole world over. This prophecy concerning principally the Jews, and being written to them (for it is in the Hebrew, which was the Jewish language, and not in the Chaldee, as some other parts of Daniel are,) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein should be according to the Jewish form and none other: and there is one argument which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the sabbaths of years mentioned, Leviticus xxv. 8. and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years; but it is certain, that those sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years is manifest: for, they all begun from the first of Tisri, which was pinned down by the feast of tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year (as hath been already observed, and from that season in one year, to the same season in another, can only be measured by the course of the sun: and all this put together sufficiently shews, that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by.

Another way taken for the reconciling of this difference, is by beginning the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus nine years sooner than where it is above placed, and ending the said 70 weeks three years and an half later, that is, by putting the

death of Christ into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For, according to this account, the first year of Artaxerxes Longimanus will fall in the year of the Julian period 4241, and his 20th year in the year of the Julian period 4260; from which numbering 69 weeks and an half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the Julian period 4746, which was the very year on which Christ suffered. And thus far Petavius and Archbishop Usher agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the prophecy, but they differ in one circumstance about the beginning, that is, whether this 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the same year of the Julian period, were his 20th year from the death of Xerxes his father, or his 20th year from the time when it is supposed he was admitted to reign in co-partnership with him, nine years before.

For [d] Petavius supposeth, that Xerxes, nine years before his death, admitted his son Artaxerxes to reign in co-partnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the 20th year of his reign, in which he issued out the decree from whence the first year of this prophecy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the authority of Thucydides, [e] who tells us, that Themistocles, in his flight into Persia, addressed himself to Artaxerxes, then newly reigning. But Diodorus Siculus [f] tells us, that Themistocles fled into Persia in the second year of the 77th Olympiad, several years before the death of Xerxes; and therefore, to reconcile these two authors, Petavius infers, that Artaxerxes must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his purpose; and to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the Persian kings, of naming their successors before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when Xerxes [g] again renewed the war against the Greeks, after the death of Pausanias, he then named Artaxerxes according to this usage,

[d] Rationar. Temp. part 2. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 154. Et de doctrina Temporum, lib. 12. c. 32. et sequentia.

[e] Lib. 1.

[f] Lib. 11.

[g] Justin. lib. 2. c. 15. Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

in the same manner as his father had named him on the like occasion, and took him into co-partnership with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the history of those times, that can give any countenance to this conjecture. [h] Herodotus indeed tells us of such an usage among the Persians, as is above mentioned, but this was only to name a successor, not to take a partner into the government, and this according to that usage was then only to be done when there was a controversy about the succession, as was the case when Darius named Xerxes his successor in his life-time; but we are told of no such controversy about the succession in Xerxes' time. And it is plain from the passage in Thucydides, where the words are on which the main stress of Petavius' opinion is laid, that he there speaks of Artaxerxes, as then newly reigning after his father's death; and, till his father's death, he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address, as Themistocles is said then to have made unto him: for he was but [i] a lad when his father died, and therefore must have been a mere child, when, according to this reckoning, Themistocles came into Persia. And if he were admitted to be successor, and also partner in the empire before his elder brother Darius, upon the same reason that Xerxes was before his elder brother Artabasanes, that is, because he was born after his father came to be king, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the 77th Olympiad, when Diodorus Siculus tells us Themistocles came to the Persian court, he could be at the most but 14 years old; for, [k] Xerxes began his reign but 14 years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion; but, what hath been said, is sufficient to shew, that it can afford no sure foundation for the solution of any part of this prophecy upon it.

And therefore [l] Archbishop Usher takes the other way, and although he placeth the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same year that Petavius doth, in order to the solution of his prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of Xerxes his father; so that he anticipates the true 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same manner as Petavius doth, though not by joining

[h] Lib. 7. in initio libri.
[i] Justin. lib. 3. c. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.
[k] Canon Ptolem. i.
[l] In Annalibus Veteris Testamenti sub anno Julianæ Periodi, 2459.

him in co-partnership with his father, but by putting him in due succession after him, nine years sooner than either Ptolemy or any other author doth; and the same testimony of Thucydides which is above mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore, to reconcile this testimony with the time assigned by Diodorus Siculus, for the flight of Themistocles, which is above mentioned, he puts the death of Xerxes, and the succession of his son Artaxerxes, nine years higher up than any other writer doth: and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes, and adds them to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, his son, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son [m] Xerxes to 50. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than from the death of his father, the most learned archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients, who put the flight of Themistocles in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, suppose it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified: for, 1*st*, in contracting the reign of Xerxes to 12 years, and enlarging that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and his son Xerxes to 50, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to Ptolemy, who, in his canon, assigns, 21 years to Xerxes, and no more than 41 to Artaxerxes, [m] including the short reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus his sons, in the last of them. And although the authority of Thucydides be great, and [n] Plutarch tells us, that he hath Charon of Lampsacus also on his side, yet the same Plutarch, from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But, 2*dly*, although the authority of Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus should be allowed to be uncontestible, and all other authorities must be set aside to make room for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus must therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it,

[m] Xerxes, the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, reigned after his father's death only 45 days, and Sogdianus, another of Artaxerxes' sons, who succeeded his brother, reigned no more than six months and fifteen days; so the time of both their reigns, amounting to no more than eight months, they are in the canon of Ptolemy cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and neither of them is therein made mention of.

[n] Plutarchus in Themistocle.

since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of Themistocles nine years lower; and this way [o] Mr. Dodwell hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who fixeth the flight of Themistocles to the year above mentioned; whereas, the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this opinion is, for the sake of any historical writer to lay aside the authority of Ptolemy's canon, which is built upon astronomical demonstrations. Although Thucydides be a grave author, and of uncontestible authority in those matters of the Peloponnesian war which he writes of; (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer,) yet it is possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the Persian affairs, which were done at a distance (as this was,) and before his time; for he was just born [p] when this flight of Themistocles happened. But Ptolemy's canon being fixed by the eclipses, the truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations, and no one hath ever calculated those eclipses, but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore, this being the surest guide which we have in the chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement every where with the holy scriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writing whatsoever, to be receded from.

And, as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these 70 weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in the fixing the end of them: for, to make up the 13 years which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years, but have also cut them short three years and an half in the ending, by placing the death of Christ in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the prophecy three years and an half before these 70 weeks are fully completed;

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[o] In Annalibus Thucydidis.

[p] According to Aulus Gellius, Thucydides was 40 years old when the Peloponnesian war began (A. Gellius, lib. 14. c. 23.) And the Peloponnesian war beginning towards the end of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, reckoning 40 years upward from thence, the first of them will end in the very year in which, Diodorus tells us, Themistocles made his flight, *i. e.* in the second year of the 77th Olympiad.

which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void, and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its significancy, and every word of prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our [q] Saviour saith of the law is also true of the prophets; and, as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled, so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass without being accomplished. And therefore, every part of the last week of this prophecy, that is, the last half part as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion: and, accordingly, every part of it had, as well as all the rest, as shall be hereafter shewn.

By all this it appears, that none of those ways which have been taken for the computing of those 70 weeks, from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, can make it agree with the prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the 20th year of this king, and the issuing out of the commission then granted by him to Nehemiah, is the agreeableness which they think is between the prophecy and this commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commissions above mentioned; for the prophecy placeth the beginning of the 70 weeks at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof; and both these, say they, were rebuilt by Nehemiah, by virtue of the grant made to him in the 20th year of this Artaxerxes. To this I answer, 1*st*, That Ezra, 13 years before this grant made to Nehemiah, [r] speaks of a wall in Jerusalem given to the Jews by the favour of the king of Persia; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply, that the grant made to Ezra included a licence or commission to build such a wall, as well as that made to Nehemiah. But if it be said, that the wall mentioned by Ezra, in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively (as I acknowledge it is,) my reply hereto is: and why may not then the word *wall* in the prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place as there is in the other? But, 2*dly*, There is no such word as the *wall* to be found in the original text of the prophecy; for what we there render, in our English translation,

[q] Matth. v. 18. [r] Ezra ix. 9.

the wall, is, in the Hebrew original, *the ditch*. 3*dly*, That though Nehemiah did much enlarge Jerusalem, by bringing new colonies of the Jews thither out of the country, and obliging them to build themselves houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it; for it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and [s] cieled houses again erected in it, by virtue of the decree granted by Cyrus, as hath been above shewn. And after that, from time to time, many more were added to them, by virtue of the same decree, confirmed by Darius Hystaspes many years before Nehemiah came to be governor of Judea. 4*thly*, The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, accomplished by Nehemiah, was a work [t] but of 52 days, and the enlarging of Jerusalem with new colonies [u] was within a year after; but the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, predicted by the prophecy, was to be a work of seven weeks, or 49 years, and so long first Ezra, and after Nehemiah, laboured successively in the work of restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem, as will hereafter be shewn: and therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the prophecy be understood.

And thus far having shewn, that the commandment or decree, mentioned in the prophecy for the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusulem, cannot be understood either of the decree of Cyrus, or of that of Darius, or of that granted to Nehemiah in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to Ezra by the same Artaxerxes, in the 7th year of his reign, and of none other. For, besides the three commandments or decrees above mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the kings of Persia, for the restoration of the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, after the Babylonish captivity, but this only that was granted to Ezra. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of Christ are exactly 490 years to a month; for in the month Nisan was the decree granted to Ezra, and [x] in the middle of the same month Nisan, Christ suffered just 490 years after.

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[s] Hag. i. 4. [t] Neh. vi. 15. [u] Neh. vii.

[x] For Christ was crucified in the beginning of the Jewish passover, and that always began in the middle of the month Nisan,

VI. And thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these 70 weeks, it remains that, for the fuller explication of all other particulars that are in this prophecy contained, I farther observe, that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th verses of the 9th chapter of Daniel, contains three branches or parts: the first foretels events to be accomplished within 70 weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them; the second, events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular periods, into which the said general number of 70 weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said 70 weeks in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. The first branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the 24th verse, and foretels the six events above mentioned, which were to be accomplished within the said 70 weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them.

II. The second branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the 25th verse, and in the former part of the 26th and former part of the 27th verses. This divides the general number of 70 weeks into three particular periods, and assigns particular events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular periods are seven weeks, 62 weeks, and one week, that is, 49 years, 434 years, and seven years; and the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them are, 1*st*, The restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem in troublous times; 2*d*, The coming of the Messiah; and, 3*d*, His confirming of the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews for one week, his causing sacrifice and oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And, therefore, applying these particular events to their proper periods, the prophecy will be clearly thus. That, numbering the said 70 weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and establish the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem,) there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is, 49 years, and then the said church and state (here figuratively expressed by the streets of the city) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such [y] good con-

[y] It is a celebrated saying among the Jews, and of ancient date among them (for it is in the Pirke Aboth, which is one of the

stitutions and establishments (here figuratively expressed by the ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary, for the fortifying and preserving of the same; and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies: That, after 63 weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is, 434 years, the Messiah should come: and that, after this, having for one week, the last of the said 70 weeks (that is, for the space of seven years,) confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews, he should, in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it,) cause the sacrifices and oblations of the temple to cease, and, in the conclusion of the whole, that is, in the precise ending of the said 70 weeks, be cut off and die. And, accordingly, all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1*st*, As to the period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, in troublous times (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the church and state of the Jews,) is not distinctly applied thereto in the prophecy: For, in the end of the 25th verse, both the two first periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven weeks, and that of the 62 weeks, the event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its street and ditch, is subjoined to both of them, without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse appropriating the time of the Messiah to the period of 62 weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is the restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of seven weeks. And accordingly, within the compass of the said period of seven weeks, or 49 years, this event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the church and state of the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, after the Babylonish captivity: for this was begun by Ezra, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and afterwards carried on by Nehemiah, by virtue of another decree granted to him, for this

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tracts in their mishna,) 'That the constitution of their elders are an hedge to the law,' that is, to fence, preserve, and keep it from being broken in upon and violated. But a ditch is as much made use of for a fence as is an hedge; and, therefore, the constitutions which fence the law from being violated may be figuratively expressed by the one as well as by the other.

purpose, by the same Artaxerxes, in the 20th year of his reign. And, from the beginning of this restoration of the church and state of the Jews by Ezra, to the ending and perfecting of it by Nehemiah, in that last act of this reformation which is spoken of in the 13th of Nehemiah (that is, from the 23d verse to the end of the chapter,) were 49 years, as will be clearly made out, in its proper place, in the sequel of this history. For during all that time this work was a-carrying on, and the great opposition which these two good men met with herein, not only from the Samaritans and other enemies abroad, but also from false brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long a doing; that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the prophecy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is observable, that, at the same juncture of time where the restoration of the Jewish church and state ended, there the holy scriptures of the Old Testament do end also; for this last reformation of Nehemiah which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said restoration, is the last act which is recorded therein; and therefore this ending of the period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the prophecy; which can scarce be said of any other that is assigned for it. And,

2*dly*, From these seven weeks, or 49 years, reckoning 62 weeks, or 434 years, more (which is the term of the second period,) this will lead us down to the coming of Christ, the Messiah, who is here in the prophecy, predicted to come at the end of the said 62 weeks. For the words of the prophecy are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*; that is, there shall be seven weeks for the completing and finishing of the work for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence 62 weeks more to the coming of Christ, the Messiah, here intended, that is, to the time of his first appearance on the ministry of the gospel. For his coming here predicted, must be interpreted, either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there: and therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is, his coming and first appearing in his ministry; and here the years predicted in the prophecy will exactly find it; for the 7th

year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence these weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the Julian period 4256, if we reckon from thence 7 weeks and 62 weeks, that is, 69 weeks, or 483 years, this will lead us down to the year of the Julian period 4739, which was the very year in which the ministry of the gospel first began. This Christ executed at first, and therein made his appearance as the Messiah, by his forerunner John the Baptist, for the space of three years and an half, and after that, by himself in his own person, for three years and an half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this prophecy, which began exactly at the ending of the said 62 weeks. And therefore here the prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah had its completion. St. Luke [z] tells us, "The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar," emperor of Rome. And from the coming of that word to John, and his preaching of it to the Jews, [a] was the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the first appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this Christ himself tells us; for his words are, Luke xvi. 16. "The law and the prophets were until John; since that the kingdom of God is preached." That is, the Jewish œconomy, under the law and the prophets, lasted until the coming of John, and his preaching of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But, from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the gospel, the kingdom of the Messiah began. For as, in the gospel of St. Matthew by the kingdom of heaven, so here by the kingdom of God [b], is meant the kingdom of the Messiah, the church of Christ, which he hath here established among us. And therefore, this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of John, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, Christ our Lord, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. But here it is to be observed, that this 15th year of Tiberius could not be his 15th year from the death of Augustus, his predecessor; for then there would have been but four years for the ministry of John the Baptist and the personal ministry of Jesus Christ put both together; which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings which are recorded of them in the gospel.

[z] Chap. iii. 1, 2. [a] Mark i. 1.

[b] Vide Grotii Annotationes in secundum caput Matthæi, et Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum.

Besides, in so short a time as must be allowed to the ministry of John in this case, it is not likely that he could have acquired so great fame; as appears not only [c] by the gospels, but also from the writing [d] of Josephus the historian, that he had obtained, not only in Judea and Galilee, but also through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The 15th year, therefore, of the reign of Tiberius, [e] in which John the Baptist began to preach, must be reckoned from that time when he began to reign jointly with Augustus, and was, according to [f] Velleius Paterculus and [g] Suetonius, admitted by him into co-partnership with him in the empire; and, by a law, (which Augustus caused to be proposed and enacted by the consuls,) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with Augustus himself: for from that time the public acts went in his name, as well as in that of Augustus, especially in the imperial provinces, [h] of which Syria was one: and therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those provinces. And this happened, [i] as the most learned Archbishop Usher observes, in the year of the Julian period 4725; and the 15th year from thence brings us to the year of the Julian period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to John the Baptist; and the preaching of the gospel first began. And then it was, that Christ, by this his forerunner, manifested his coming, and made his first appearance in that great work of our salvation, on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when the commandment went forth from that king for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, to this time, were just seven weeks, and 62 weeks, that is, 69 weeks, or 483 years in all, exactly as this prophecy predicted.

3dly, From this coming of our Saviour began the third

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[c] Matth. iii. & xiv. 5. & xxi. 26.

[d] Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.

[e] Luke iii. 1.

[f] Lib. 2. c. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet. 'Senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre ejus (sc. Augusto ut æquam ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi decreto complexus est.'

[g] In Tiberio, c. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit,—'Per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, conditio lustro in Illyricum profectus est.'

[h] Dio Cassius.

[i] In Annalibus sub anno J P. 4725.

period of these 70 weeks, that is, the one week which is spoken of in the 27th verse; the events whereof, as there predicted are, that *for that week the Messiah should confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof* (for [k] thus it ought to be rendered, where in our English translation we read *the midst*) *should cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.* And so accordingly it came to pass; for, during these seven years of his evangelical ministry, he did, first by his forerunner, [l] the messenger whom he had sent before him, and then by himself, in his personal ministry, confirm the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then, in the half part of the said week, that is, in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same ministry on which John was sent before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the temple to cease, that is, first by his preaching of the gospel, which was to supersede them, and then, lastly, by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all, in his death upon the cross, at the end of this week, whereby, they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only types and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy but as they referred to it, when this was offered, all others vanished of course, as the representative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of Christ's personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in preaching of the gospel, which was to cause the law to cease; so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease, which the law enjoined; though the whole was not completed till at the end of this half part, by his death and passion; for then, at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of Christ at the end of this last period is against the express words of the prophecy; for that placeth the cutting

[k] The word in the original Hebrew is Chatzi, which signifieth the half part, and not the midst.

[l] Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. & vii. 27.

off the Messiah at the end of the second period, that is, of the 62 weeks; for the words of it are, (verse 26.) *After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off.* To this I answer, the word after in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately after, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed; for otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have happened at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry: for in the verse preceding it is positively said, *That from the going forth of the commandment, to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks;* and therefore, if at the end of the same 62 weeks he should be cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have happened both together at the same time; and the consequence, which I have mentioned, must necessarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry; which cannot be said. The word after must therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which Christ, the Messiah named in that prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the Messiah had been exactly determined to that time by what was said before in the 24th verse. For it is manifest, that, according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the prophecy, his death must be there placed; for, according to that, it must be there placed where it placeth the events that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it: but the events which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off of the Messiah, are by that part of the said prophecy (ver. 24.) placed at the end of the 70 weeks, and consequently at the end of the last of them; and therefore the cutting off of the Messiah must there be placed also. And there it accordingly happened in the death and passion of Christ our Saviour; and this part of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

The whole, therefore, of this second part or branch of the prophecy is thus: the 70 weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into seven weeks, 62 weeks, and one week; the first reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to Ezra, for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the finishing of that work by Nehemiah, 49 years after; the second, from the end of that period, to the coming of

the Messiah, 434 years after; and the last from that his coming, to his cutting off by his death on the cross; which was one week or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the 70 weeks, or the 490 years of this prophecy: and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in the completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month: for as the going out of the commandment to Ezra, from whence they began, was in the month of Nisan, so the crucifixion of Christ was also in the same month, just 490 years after.

III. After what is predicted of these three periods, follows the third branch, or part of the prophecy which is contained in the latter end of the 26th, and latter end of the 27th verses, and foretels events to be brought to pass, after the expiration of the said 70 weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come*, who, with their armies, and desolating abominations, should invade Judea, as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war, bring utter ruin and desolation upon it, and all the people of the Jews that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction. All which accordingly came to pass, and did, of a very signal manner, verify the prophecy in a full completion in every particular hereof. For on the end of these 70 weeks which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their stead; so that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city Jerusalem any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction: for, immediately on their having executed the sentence of death upon Christ our Lord, this [m] sentence of condemnation passed upon them; and from that time all second causes operated towards the hastening the execution of it, till at length the Roman armies, *the people that were to come*, under the command of Titus their prince, invaded them as with a torrent, and begirt Jerusalem with their ensigns, *the abomination of desolation*, [n] which our Saviour

[m] Christ, foreknowing the wickedness, foretels that this sentence should be thereon passed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed, Matth. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

[n] Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

from this prophecy, forewarns his disciples of. For [o] they were idolatrous images, [p] abominated by the Jews, under which those people marched against them, invaded their land, besieged their holy city, and, by a most calamitous war, brought utter desolation upon both; which, according to the relations of Josephus (who was an historian of their own nation, and present in all the actions of the war,) they executed it in the most terrible and tragical manner of destruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since even to this day, though now 1645 years have passed since these judgments were by the just hand of God thus executed upon them.

But, for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this prophecy, there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the Artaxerxes who granted the commission to Ezra in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the 70 weeks, was the same Artaxerxes, who, in the 20th year of his reign, granted another commission to Nehemiah; for the scriptures [q] making Ezra and Nehemiah contemporary, render this beyond dispute. But that this Artaxerxes should be Artaxerxes Longimanus, the age which Nehemiah and Sanballat must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable: for Nehemiah, in the book of holy scripture called by his name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him,) [r] speaking of the reign of Darius Codomannus king of Persia, and of the days of Jaddua the high priest of the Jews, as of

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[o] Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24. c. Matth. com. 15.

[p] Josephus tells us, (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) that when Vitellius, governor of Syria, was going to pass through Judea with a Roman army to make war against the Arabians, the chief of the Jews met him, and earnestly intreated him to lead his army another way. For they could not bear the sight of those images, which were in the ensigns under which they marched, they were so abominated by them. These ensigns, therefore, for the sake of those images in them, were abominations to the Jews; and, by reason of the desolations which were wrought under them by the Roman armies in conquered countries, they were called desolating abominations, or abominations of desolation; and they were never more so, than when under them the Roman armies besieged, took, and destroyed Jerusalem.

[q] Nehemiah viii.

[r] Chap. xii. 22.

times past, he must have been alive after the death of both of them; but Jaddua not dying [s] till two years after the death of Alexander the Great, in the year of the Julian period 4392, from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to that time had passed 123 years; to which, if we add 30 years more for the age of Nehemiah, when he came to be governor of Judea, (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust,) he must have been at the least 153 years old when he wrote that book, if the Artaxerxes from whom he had his commission, were Artaxerxes Longimanus. And though we suppose the writing of this book to have been while Darius Codomannus and Jaddua were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, in the first year of the reign of that Darius, yet this will not much mend the matter: for, on this supposition, Nehemiah must have been 140 years old when he wrote that book; which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently infers the supposal on which it is built, (*i. e.* that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus from whom he had his commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of Sanballat, upon the same supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so; for when Nehemiah came into Judea, in the 20th year of Artaxerxes, he found him [t] governor of Samaria, under the king of Persia, and he was alive, as Josephus tells us, [u] till the besieging of Gaza, by Alexander the Great, in the fourth year of Darius Codomannus, at which time he died. And therefore, if that Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Longimanus, Sanballat, at the time of that siege, could not be less than 148 years old. For from the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the fourth of Darius Codomannus, according to Ptolemy's canon, were 113 years; and when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem, Sanballat having been for some time, perchance for several years fixed in the government of Samaria, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than 35 years old at that time; and, putting both these numbers together, they make 148 years: and both these ages, that is, that of Nehemiah, and this of Sanballat, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and more especially that of the latter: for as to Nehemiah, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alledged for such an extraordinary age in him; but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances

[s] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexand.
[t] Nehemiah iv. 2. [u] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

apart look very improbable; but coming both together are much more so. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple, could not be Darius Nothus, because of the great and improbable age which Joshua and Zerubbabel must have been of at the executing of that decree: so it is argued here, in the same manner, that the Artaxerxes, from whom Ezra and Nehemiah had their commissions, could not be Artaxerxes Longimanus, because of the great and improbable age which Nehemiah and Sanballat must then have been of at the time of their death: and therefore, as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwise solved, but by making the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple to be another Darius, that is, Darius Hystaspes, who reigned 98 years before that Darius who was called Nothus; so, in like manner, is it said of this latter difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared, but by making the Artaxerxes, who in the seventh and in the 20th years of his reign granted his commissions to Ezra and Nehemiah, to have been another Artaxerxes, that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose 7th year, and whose 20th year of his reign were just 60 years after the 7th year and the 20th year of the reign of the other Artaxerxes that was called Longimanus. Thus far the objection; and, if it holds good, I must acknowledge, it overthrows the computation on which hath been built, all which I have hitherto said for the explication of this prophecy.

In answer hereto, it hath been said by some, 1*st*, As to Nehemiah, that in that passage of his book, (ch. xii. 22.) where the reign of Darius the Persian, and the days of Jaddua the high priest of the Jews, are mentioned, that reign of Darius was the reign [x] of Darius Nothus, and those days of Jaddua were his days from his birth; which might very well have happened in the reign of the said Darius Nothus; and, 2*dly*, As to Sanballat, that [y] there were two of that name, the first of which was the Sanballat spoken of by Nehemiah, and the second the Sanballat spoken of by Josephus. But neither of these answers can possibly hold good. For,

1*st*, It is manifest, that the text of Nehemiah (ch. xii. 22.) where the Levites are spoken of that were in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high priests.

[x] Usserius in Annalibus sub anno Julianæ perodi, 4298.

[y] Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia sacra, p. 149.

For the high priest among the Jews was the head of the priests and Levites; and after the captivity, when there was no king in Judah, he had the absolute supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their high priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been done in such an high priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time than that of his high priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a king's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign: and therefore, to refer what is here said of the days of Jaddua, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced sense, which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of King Henry VIII. will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand, what is here said of the Levites to have been in the days of Jaddua, of any other days than of those wherein he was high priest? And it is to be here observed, that the text joins with the days of Jaddua, the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan: For it is said, "[z] In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua," &c. And therefore, if it should be here asked, whether the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, are to be understood of the days of their high priesthood, or of the days of their life from their birth? no doubt it will be answered by every body, of the days of their high priesthood. And why then must not the days of Jaddua be understood so too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this case to name Jaddua's days at all? because if they be understood of those before he was high priest, they were coincident with the days of Joiada and Johanan, which were named before. And therefore, if we understand those days of Jaddua in the text, of any other days than of those wherein he was high priest, they must have been named twice in the same text; which would be such a faulty repetition, as it must not be charged with. Nothing seems more plain, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession one after another; and therefore we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of Jaddua in this text, of the days before

[z] Nehemiah xii. 22.

he was high priest, is to support a notion, that the said text was written before he was high priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of Darius Nothus; they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then, to name his days with the days of the other high priests, so many years before he came to be high priest, and when it must be [a] in many respects uncertain whether he would ever be so or no, is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of Jaddua, in the text above mentioned, can be meant of no other days than the days of his high priesthood; and that therefore he must have been in that office before this text was written. And also it is evident, that the Darius in the same text mentioned, can be none other than Darius Codomannus, [b] in whose reign Jaddua was high priest. For the [c] text, bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high priests, terminates the whole in the days of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius the Persian, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore Darius the Persian, in that text mentioned, could be none other than Darius Codomannus, because no other Darius but he was king of Persia while Jaddua was high priest at Jerusalem. And, if so, it must be in the reign of this Darius, of the soonest, that this text was written, and consequently Nehemiah, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And, supposing it to have been in the reign of this Darius, and in the first year of it, Nehemiah, if then living, must have been 140 years old; but if it were after the death both of Darius and Jaddua, as the obvious sense of the text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is, 153 at the least, as I have above said. But neither of these is likely; and therefore it must be acknowledged, that this answer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither,

2dly, Can the other answer remove that which ariseth from the age of Sanballat. For, to solve that objection, by making two Sanballats, is plainly giving up the cause; it being only a shift, which can never go down with any one that duly consi-

[a] It was uncertain, not only from the uncertainty of life, but also because he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwise, and also might be excluded by the Persian king.

[b] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. [c] Nehemiah xii. 22.

ders the matter: for it is not to be doubted, but that the Sanballat who is said, in the last chapter of Nehemiah, to have married his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada the high priest, is the same Sanballat who is mentioned so often in the former part of that book, as the great opposer of Nehemiah in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of Israel: for he is, in this place, called [d] by the same proper name of Sanballat, as in the former places of that book, and hath there also given unto him the same additional name of the Horonite, taken from the name of Horonaim, [e] a city of Moab (whereof it is supposed he was a native.) And it is not likely, that both these names should concur in any other within the time of the same governor of Judea, but in the same person only. And that this same Sanballat the Horonite, is the same Sanballat which Josephus treateth of, is as evident; for the Sanballat of Nehemiah [f] was governor of Samaria, and [g] so was the Sanballat of Josephus: the Sanballat of Nehemiah was [h] a great enemy of the Jews; and so [i] was the Sanballat of Josephus: the Sanballat of Nehemiah [k] married his daughter to one of the sons of an high priest of the Jews; and so did the Sanballat of Josephus: and who then is there, that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

And thus far I have shewn, that neither part of the objection above mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I answer,

1*st*, As to the age of Nehemiah, that the text from whence this objection is made, doth not infer it. For, notwithstanding what is said therein, Nehemiah might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written: for all that is contained in the said 12th chapter of Nehemiah, from the beginning of it to the 27th verse of the same, was never written by Nehemiah, but is an interpolation there inserted long after his death, by those who received this book into the canon of scripture: for [l] as Ezra, as far as he went in

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[d] Nehemiah xiii. 28.
[e] Isaiah xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 3, 5. & 34.
[f] Nehemiah iv. 12. [g] Nehemiah ii, iv. 6.
[h] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7, & 8.
[i] Josephus ibid. [k] Nehemiah xiii. 28.
[l] See below in the sequel of this history.

that collection which he made of the holy scriptures, inserted in several places such interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them; so they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the said collection, did the same in the books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of Simon the Just: for he being the last of those whose labours were employed in the settling of the canon of the scriptures of the Old Testament, and this book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it is justly reckoned to have been in his time that it was first thus received into the number of the sacred books; and then this interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby in the sense and connection of that part of the book doth sufficiently shew; and most [m] learned men that have considered this matter are now convinced that it is so.

But, *2dly*, As to the other objection which is drawn from the age of Sanballat, the answer is much easier; for here there is no opposition between scripture and scripture, but only between scripture and the writings of a profane author. Nehemiah placeth Sanballat the Horonite in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus; [n] Josephus makes him live down to the time of Alexander the Great, above 100 years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other: for if both cannot consist together (as the great age which Sanballat in this case must have lived to doth sufficiently prove they cannot,) the profane writer must give place to the sacred: and therefore, the true answer in this matter is, Josephus was mistaken. The sacred writ, as being dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth; which cannot be said of the writings of Josephus; for they have in them many great and manifest mistakes; and no part of them more than the 11th book of Antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection: for therein he frequently varies from scripture, history, and common sense; which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested of all that he hath written. Therein [o] he makes Cam-

[m] Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia sacra, c. 10. p. 149. Cary's Chronology, part 2. book 2. ch. 6. p. 197.

[n] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

[o] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 3.

byses, who was the first that reigned after Cyrus, to have been the Persian king that, by his decree, forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple; whereas [p] the scripture plainly tells us it was Artaxerxes who is there named in the third place after Cyrus. He [q] inserts into this book, out of the apocryphal Esdras, the fabulous and absurd story of the three chamberlains contending before Darius Hystaspes about who was strongest; and, making Zerubbabel to be one of them, and to obtain the victory in this contest, he introduceth Darius giving him, for the reward of this victory, a decree for another return of the captive Israelites to Judea; which is neither spoken of in scripture, nor consisting with it; and placeth at the head of those who he saith then returned, Zerubbabel the governor, and Joshua the high priest; whereas it is certain, from Ezra, Haggai, and Zachariah, that they were then both at Jerusalem, and there, on the exhortations of the two prophets last mentioned, setting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on, out of the same romance, to relate as consequential to this second return, (which is wholly fictitious) all that which the scriptures tell us was done after the first; and in some particulars very much exceed the fictions of the romancer himself: for he makes those who came from Babylon to Judea, in this fictitious return, to be 4,008,684 men, a monstrous number! and the women and children, that belonged to them to be no more than 40,742, a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of wives. And [r] he makes Xerxes, who succeeded Darius Hystaspes, to have been that Artaxerxes of the holy scriptures who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem; whereas [s] the 32d year of that Artaxerxes is mentioned in scripture; and it is certain the reign of Xerxes did not exceed [t] 21 years. He brings not Nehemiah to Jerusalem [u] till the 25th year of that Artaxerxes; whereas the scriptures [x] tell us, he came thither in the 20th; and he makes him to be employed there three years and an half in the rebuilding of the walls of the city;

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[p] Ezra iv. 6, 7. For there he makes Ahasuerus to be the first after Cyrus, and Artaxerxes, who forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple and city of Jerusalem, to be the second.

[q] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

[r] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

[s] Nehemiah xiii. 6.

[t] Canon Ptolemæi.

[u] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5,

[x] Nehemiah ii. 1.

whereas we read in the sacred text, [y] that it was done in 52 days. And since Josephus hath in this book made all these mistakes, besides many more, which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange, that I assert what he saith in this same book, in reference to Sanballat, is a mistake also: for [z] therein he tells us of him, 'That, being made 'governor of Samaria for the last Darius, he married his 'daughter to one whose father had been high priest of the 'Jews; and that this son-in-law having, for this marriage, as 'being contrary to the Jewish law, been deprived of his 'priesthood, and driven out of Jerusalem, he obtained from 'Alexander (to whom he revolted while at the siege of Tyre) 'licence to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple 'like that at Jerusalem, and to make his son-in-law high-priest 'of it; and that, after having attended Alexander at this siege 'of Tyre, and also at that of Gaza with 8000 men, about the 'time of the taking of the last of those he died.' Thus far this historian. That Sanballat thus married his daughter to a son of an high priest of the Jews, and built a temple on Mount Gerizim for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by licence from Alexander, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the relater as any that I have above mentioned: that he should build this temple by licence from Alexander, is inconsistent with what Josephus himself tells us of the matter: for, according to him, Sanballat did not revolt to Alexander till he was set down before Tyre; and that siege and the siege of Gaza both together lasted only nine months. And therefore, if we suppose Sanballat to have obtained this licence from Alexander in the very beginning of these nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at Jerusalem, which cost the labour of many years, and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially since all that while neither Sanballat himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time, Josephus tells us, Sanballat attended Alexander in the camp, and had 8000 of his Samaritans there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable that, in their absence, those who were left behind should have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go through with

[y] Nehemiah vi. 15. [z] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7. and 8.

such a work, especially when the chief projector, Sanballat himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this temple could have been built, by a licence from Alexander, in the lifetime of Sanballat, it must follow, that, if it were built at all by virtue of such a license from Alexander, it must have been built by the Samaritans after Sanballat was dead. But the ill circumstances on which the Samaritans were with Alexander immediately after the time when Josephus saith Sanballat died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former: for Alexander was no sooner gone into Egypt, where he immediately marched after his taking of Gaza, but the Samaritans, [a] rising in a mutiny against Andromachus, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of Syria, set fire to the house where he was, and burned him to death; which justly provoked Alexander to so severe a revenge against them, that, on his return, he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the rest of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his Macedonians, and [b] added their country to that of the Jews. And as to the 8000 men which had followed his camp, [c] he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and there settled them on such lands as he caused to be distributed among them in that province, without suffering them any more to return into their own country. The remainder that survived this ruin were permitted to dwell in Sechem, a small village near Samaria, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people; and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in so high a degree provoked Alexander, should be allowed to build such a temple by his favour, or, if they had, could be at all in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its branches, will, no doubt, think it in each of them improbable; and that, with a licence from Alexander, neither before the death of Sanballat, nor after it, could any such temple have been built by the Samaritans. However, I deny not, but that as

[a] Eusebii Chronicon ad annum 1685. In Lat. Hieronymi, p. 137. in Græcis, p. 56. & 177. edit. ult. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

[b] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. p. 1063.

[c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

hath been already said, such a temple was built by Sanbal. upon Mount Gerizim, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a son of the high priest of the Jews. But this was done long before the time of the last Darius, who was called Codomannus, in the time of a former Darius, surnamed Nothus, who was king of Persia, 88 years before him; for it appears from scripture, that this marriage was consummated [d] while Joiada the son of Eliashib was high priest of the Jews, and he entered on his office in the 11th year of this Darius; and four years afterwards, (that is, in the 5th year of the high priesthood of the said Joiada, and in the 15th year of Darius Nothus) was it, that his son was thus married to the daughter of Sanballat; as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest which Josephus relates of the building of the temple upon Mount Gerizim by Sanballat, and the making of his son-in-law high priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of Darius Codomannus, in the last year of his reign, or by licence from Alexander, but in the time of Darius Nothus, and by licence from him only, granted in the 15th year of his reign to Sanballat for this purpose. And this clears the whole objection: for Darius Nothus, in Ptolemy's canon, immediately succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, in whose 20th year Sanballat is first made mention of; and supposing him then to have been 35 years old, he would, in the 15th year of Darius Nothus, be no more than 71; which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in London, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials; and none that die there use to be put into those bills under that title unless they outlive 70. That which led Josephus into this error I take it, was the common notion which hath long obtained among his countrymen, [e] that the Darius whom Alexander conquered was the son of Ahasuerus by Esther; and therefore, on his making Artaxerxes Longimanus to be Ahasuerus, he makes the Darius that succeeded him, that is, Darius Nothus, to be the last Darius who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his history: for, having therein given us an account of all the kings of

[d] Neh. xiii. 28.

[e] R. Abraham Levita in Historica Cabala. David Gantz in Zemach David. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

Persia, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Longimanus, in that exact series of succession in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the Magian usurper, though he reigned only seven months after Artaxerxes Longimanus he names none other but that last Darius, in whom the Persian empire ended: which is a plain argument, that he took that last Darius to have been the Darius that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus; and if so, the age of Sanballat will then put no difficulty upon us. But [f] Isaac Vossius, by an emendation of the text of Josephus, introduceth thereinto another Artaxerxes, as mentioned by him to reign in Persia between Artaxerxes Longimanus and the last Darius: for whereas, in the 7th chapter of the 11th book of his Antiquities, in all the printed copies, we read of Bagoses, that he was general τῦ λαῦ Ἀρταξέρξου, that is, of the people of Artaxerxes; he would have it to be τῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου, which may be rendered in English, either of the other Artaxerxes, or of another Artaxerxes: and, to justify the emendation, he brings the authority of Ruffinus, who, in his aversion of Josephus, translates this place as if the copy which he used had it τῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου. But Ruffinus' Latin version is no sufficient standard whereby to judge of the original, since in many places he fantastically varies from it. And since there were two Artaxerxes that reigned in Persia after Artaxerxes Longimanus, that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus, whether by this ἄλλος Ἀρταξέρξης we understand the other Artaxerxes, or another Artaxerxes, the propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place; and, if it could be, a long received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of some good manuscript to justify the emendation; and there is none alledged in this case. So that all that Vossius saith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon: and to alter old authors upon conjecture only is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other: for, since the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced, by such conjectural emendations; and many good authors have already too much suffered by it.

And thus far I have explained this important prophecy in all its parts and branches, and fully shewn all those events in

[f] In Chronologia Sacra, c. 10. p. 150.

which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities which many learned men have been led into in their explications of it do sufficiently prove it: and the understanding in a literal sense what is there meant in a figurative hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And, although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our curiosity herein, as to give us prophecies for the magnifying of his omniscience among us; yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure terms, as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become sure comments upon the text. And I hope, when the reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed concerning this very important prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it hath had its completion.

But, to return again to our history, Ezra [s] having found, in the second year of his government, that many of the people had taken strange wives, contrary to the law, and that several of the priests and Levites, as well as other chief men of Judah and Benjamin, had transgressed herein, after he had, in fasting and prayer, deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused proclamation to be made for all the people of Israel that had returned from the captivity, to gather themselves together at Jerusalem, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods; and, when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant before God, to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of Israel might not be polluted with such an undue commixture; and thereon commissioners were appointed to inquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the law herein. And they sat down the first day of the 10th month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month; so that, in three months time, that is, in the 10th, 11th, and 12th months of the Jewish year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression; which three months answer to January, February, and March, in our year. An. 457. Artax. 8.

[s] Ezra ix, & x.

About this time, [h] Bigthan and Teresh, two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conspiracy against the life of King Artaxerxes. Most likely they were of those who had attended Queen Vashti; and, being now out of their offices by the degrading of their mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the king for it; of which Mordecai having gotten the knowledge, he made discovery hereof to Queen Esther, and she, in Mordecai's name, to the king; whereon inquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treason laid open and discovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the history of the whole matter was entered on the public registers and annals of the kingdom.

Megabyzus and Artabazus, who were appointed generals by Artaxerxes for the Egyptian war, [i] had drawn together into Cilicia and Phœnicia an army of 300,000 men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was a preparing for them in Cilicia, Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and other maritime parts of the Persian empire there adjoining; all which time they carefully employed in exercising their soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military arts for the war; which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterwards obtained. In the interim, Inarus with his Egyptians and the Athenian auxiliaries, pressed hard their assaults upon the white wall at Memphis; but the Persians valiantly defending themselves, the siege continued all this year without any success.

But [k] the next year after, the Persian fleet being ready, Artabazus took the command of it, and set sail for the Nile; and, at the same time, Megabyzus marched the army over land to Memphis; where, on his arrival, having raised the siege, and joined the besieged, he gave battle to Inarus and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the Egyptian revolters. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded in the fight by Megabyzus, made his retreat with the Athenian auxiliaries, and as many of the Egyptians as would follow him, to Biblus, a city standing in the island Prosopitis; which being surrounded by the Nile, and the branches of that river encompassing it being both navigable, the Athenians drew up

An. 456. Artax. 9.

[h] Esther ii. 21. [i] Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.
[k] Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

their fleet into one of them, in a station where it was safe from the enemy, and endured a siege of a year and a half in that island. In the interim, the rest of the Egyptians, after that blow, all submitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King Artaxerxes, excepting Amyrtæus, who still maintained a party against them in the fens, where he reigned many years; the Persians, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

In the mean time, [l] the Persian army at Prosopitis pressed on the siege; but finding that they could make no work of it by the usual and common ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendants, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished what by open force they could not effect; for having, by the making of many channels, drained that branch of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their army to pass over into the island; whereon Inarus, seeing his case desperate, with all his Egyptians, and about 50 of the Athenian auxiliaries, came to composition with Megabyzus, and yielded to him on terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the auxiliaries, being in number about 6000, put themselves on their defence; and therefore, having set their fleet on fire, stood together in battle array, with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians that fell at Thermopylæ, sell their lives as dear as they could; which the Persians perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on terms, that they should leave Egypt, and have a free passage home into their own country which way they should choose for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the island, with the city of Biblus, to the conquerors, and marched to Cyrene, where they took shipping for Greece. But the major part of those that went on this expedition perished in it. An. 454. Artax. 11.

And this was not all the loss which the Athenians suffered in this war: [m] For another fleet of 50 sail being sent by them for the relief of those who were besieged in Prosopitis, they arrived at one of the mouths of the Nile, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to sail up the Nile, for the

[l] Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
[m] Thucydides, lib. 1.

assistance of their countrymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had happened to them. But they were no sooner entered the river, but they were set upon by the Persian fleet from the sea, and assaulted with darts by their land army from the shore; so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their ships, which broke through the enemy and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the Athenians made in Egypt, in the sixth year after it was begun. And, after this, Egypt was again reduced under the Persian yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of Artaxerxes.

An. 453. Artax. 12. Joachim, the high-priest of the Jews, being dead, was [n] succeeded by Eliashib his son, who bore that office 40 years.

Haman, an Amalekite of the posterity of Agag, who was king of Amalek in the time of Saul, [o] growing to be the chief favourite of King Artaxerxes, all the king's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting Mordecai the Jew, who, sitting in the king's gate according to his office, paid not any reverence to Haman at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him: of which, being told, he was exceeding wroth; but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a Jew, he resolved, in revenge of this affront, to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this perchance he was not a little excited by the ancient enmity which was between them and the people of whom he was descended. And, therefore, for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month Nisan, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in execution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those eastern people, cast lots, first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the 13th day of the 12th month following, called Adar, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed; whereon he forthwith went in unto the king, and, having insinuated to him that there was a certain

[n] Chronicon Alexandrin. Neh. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

[o] Esther iii.

people, dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the king's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed; and that therefore it was not for the king's profit that they should be any longer suffered; he proposed and gave counsel, that they should be all destroyed. and extirpated out of the whole empire of Persia, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which having obtained the king's consent, and an order, that on the 13th day of Adar following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the king's scribes together to write the decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the 13th day of the same month of Nisan, copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the king's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children, and women, in one day, even on the 13th day of Adar following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening, there might be time enough to take such measures as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

But an objection being like to rise against this, from those who had the management of the king's treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the king's subjects, as the Jews through the whole empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the public taxes, he offered [p] 10,000 talents of silver out of his own purse to make the king amends for it; which sum, if computed by Babylonish talents, amounts to 2,119,000 pounds of our Sterling money; but if by Jewish talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shews the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice towards the Jews, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the king's favour was then so great toward him, [q] that he remitted to him all that sum and granted him all that

[p] Esther iii. 9.

[q] Esther iii. 10.

he desired without it; though the damage which the king would have suffered by it in his revenue would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give [r] could have been sufficient to countervail. We are not to wonder that private men had then such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them; Pythius the Lydian, and Marcus Crassus the Roman. The former, when Xerxes passed into Greece, [s] was possessed of 2000 talents in silver, and four millions of Darics in gold, which, together, amounted to near five millions and an half of our Sterling money; and the latter [t] after he had consecrated the tenth of all that he had to Hercules, feasted all the people of Rome at 10,000 tables, and had given them in a donative of corn, to every citizen, as much as would last him three months, found the remainder of his estate to be 7100 Roman talents, which amounts to above a million and an half of our money. This may seem much to us at present. But the wonder will cease, when we consider that from the time of David and Solomon, and for above 1500 years afterwards, gold and silver was in much greater plenty in the world than either of them is at present. The immense riches [u] which Solomon had in gold and silver, the prodigious quantities of both these [x] which Alexander found in the treasuries of Darius, and [y] the vast loads of them which we find often to have been carried in triumph before Roman generals, when they returned from conquered provinces, and the excessive sums [y] which some of the Roman emperors expended in their luxurious and fantastical enjoyments, and in donatives to their armies, and many [z] other

[r] Esther vii. 4. [s] Herod. lib. 7. [t] Plutarch, in Crasso.

[u] The gold wherewith he overlaid the Sanctum Sanctorum only, a room in the temple 30 feet square, and 30 feet high, besides what was expended on other parts of the temple, and in the utensils and vessels of it, amounted to 600 talents, which, reduced to our money, is 4,320,000 pounds Sterling; and the gold which he had in one year from Ophir amounted to 450 talents, which, reduced to our money, is 3,240,000 pounds; and his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was 666 talents, which amounts to 4,795,200 pounds of our Sterling money.

[x] See Diodorus Siculus, Arian, and Quintus Curtius.

[y] See the Roman Historians.

[z] One of these instances may be in Lucullus a Roman senator: for in one of his halls, which he called Apollo, he expended

instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned, sufficiently proves this. But at length the mines which furnished this plenty, especially those of the Southern Arabia, (where we suppose was the Ophir of the ancients) being exhausted, and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarous nations, in the West, and of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars, in the East, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world before abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of Mexico, Peru, and Brasil, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

It is hard to find a reason for Mordecai's refusing to pay this respect to Haman, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the king of Persia; and that [a] consisting in the bowing of the knee, and the prostration of the whole body even to the ground, it was avoided by Mordecai, upon a [b] notion which he had of its being idolatrous. But this being the common compliment which was constantly paid to the kings of Persia by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very king by Ezra and Nehemiah, when they had access unto him, and after also by Mordecai himself; for otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace, which was afterwards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous

50,000 Roman denarii every time he supped there (which is near 1600 pounds of our money), and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of Plutarch, who tells us this in the life of Lucullus, express no more than that the supper cost him five myriads; but this, in strict propriety of speech, can in that author be meant of no other myriads, but of Denarii, If we carry the valutation down to that of Sestertii five myriads (that is 50,000 of them will amount to a quarter the sum above mentioned, that is 400 pounds of our money: and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two Roman senators (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that author,) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the entertainer.

[a] Vide Brissonium de Regno Pers. lib. 1. § 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

[b] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

to pay this adoration to the king, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to Haman. The Greeks would not pay this respect to the king of Persia, out of pride; and excepting Themistocles, and [c] two or three more, [d] none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of Mordecai in respect of Haman. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence was from a cause that was personal in Haman only. Perchance it was because Haman being of the race of the Amalekites, he looked on him as under the curse [e] which God had denounced against that nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the Jews thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced Mordecai to refuse the payment of this respect to the king's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole Jewish nation in revenge for it.

When [f] Mordecai heard of this decree, he made great lamentation, as did also all the Jews of Shushan with him; and therefore putting on sackcloth, he sat in this mournful garb without the king's gate (for he might not enter within it in that dress;) which being told Esther, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon Mordecai acquainted her with the whole state of the case, and sent her a copy of the decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the king, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever, whether man or woman, should come in unto the king into the inner court, who was

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[c] One of these was Timagoras an Athenian, on whom the people of Athens passed sentence of death for it, thinking the honour of their whole city debased by this mean submission of one of their citizens to him, that was then the greatest king of the whole earth, Valer. Max. lib. 6. c. 3.

[d] Vide Plutarchum in Themistocle, & Pelopida, & Artaxerxe. Herodot. lib. 7. Justinum, lib. 6. c. 2. & Cornelium Nepotem in Conone.

[e] Exod. xvi. 14. 1 Samuel xv. 2, 3.

[f] Esther iv. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the king should hold out the golden sceptre in his hand, that he might live; and she was afraid of hazarding her life in this case. Whereon Mordecai, sending to her again, told her, that the decree extended universally to all of her nation without any exception; and that, if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that Providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work; but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her father's house should perish; for he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon Esther, resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired Mordecai, that he and all the Jews then in Shushan would fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day, Esther put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the king, where he was sitting upon his throne in the inner part of the palace: and as soon as he saw her standing in the court, he shewed favour unto her, and held out his golden sceptre towards her, and Esther going near, and touching the top of it, had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the king asked her what her petition was, at first she only desired, that he and Haman would come to a banquet which she had prepared for him. And when Haman was called, and the king and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom: but then she desired only that the king and Haman would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating, that then she would make known her request unto him. Her intention, in desiring thus to entertain the king twice at her banquets, before she made known her petition unto him, was, that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request which she had to make unto him.

Haman, being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the king to the queen's banquet, went home to his house much puffed up herewith. But, in his returning thither, seeing Mordecai sitting at the gate of the palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that, on his coming to his house, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the king and queen, and the high advancement which

he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by Mordecai. Whereon they advised him to cause a gallows to be built of 50 cubits height, and next morning to ask the king to have Mordecai to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the king, to hang Mordecai on it. But [8] that morning the king awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the book of the records and chronicles of the kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conspiracy of Bigthan and Teresh, and that it was discovered by Mordecai the Jew, the king inquired what honour had been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he inquired who was in the court; and being told that Haman was standing there (for he attended early to speak to the king for the purpose I have mentioned,) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the king delighted to honour? whereon Haman thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice, that the royal apparel should be brought which the king used to wear, and the horse which was kept for his own riding, and the crown royal which useth to be set upon his head, and that this apparel and horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the king's most noble princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the king delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole city, and proclaim before him, thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour. Whereon the king commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horse, and do all this to Mordecai the Jew who sat in the king's gate, in reward for his discovery of the treason of the two eunuchs. All which Haman having been forced to do, in obedience to the king's command, he returned with great sorrow to his house, lamenting the disappointment, and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And, on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this Mordecai were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded, that he should not prevail against him, but should

[8] Esther vi.

surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the queen's chamberlains came to Haman's house to hasten him to the banquet, and seeing the gallows which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it was prepared. On the king and Haman's sitting down to the banquet, [h] the king asked again of Esther, what was her petition with like promise, as before, of granting of it to her even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the king, that her life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her, and all her kindred and nation; at which the king asking with much anger, who it was that durst do this thing, she told him that Haman, then present, was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the king. Whereon the king rose up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoining; which Haman perceiving, fell down before the queen upon the bed on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the king having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion, What will he force the queen before me in the house? At which words the servants present immediately [i] covered his face, as was then the usage to condemned persons; and the chamberlain, who had that day called Haman to the banquet, acquainting the king of the gallows which he saw at his house there prepared for Mordecai, who had saved the king's life in detecting the treason of the two eunuchs, the king ordered that he should be forwith hanged thereon; which was accordingly done; and all his house, goods, and riches, were given to Queen Esther, and she appointed Mordecai to be her steward to manage the same. [k] On the same day, the queen acquainted the king of the relation which Mordecai had unto her; whereon the king took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the empire, and made him the keeper of his signet, in the same manner as Haman had been before.

But [l] still the decree for the destruction of the Jews remaining in its full force, the queen petitioned the king the second time to put away this mischief from them. But, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, [m] nothing

[h] Esther vii. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.
[i] Vide Brissonium de Regno Persarum. [k] Esther viii.
[l] Esther viii. Josephus, lib. 11, c. 6.
[m] Daniel vi. 8, 15. Esther i. 19. and viii. 8.

being to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's seal, and the decree procured by Haman against the Jews having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All, therefore, that the king could do, in compliance with her request, was to give the Jews, by a new decree, such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; and for that end he bid Esther and Mordecai draw such a decree in words, as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annulled. And therefore the king's scribes being again called, on the 23d day of the third month, a new decree was drawn, just two months and ten days after the former; wherein the king granted to the Jews, which were in every city of the Persian empire, full licence to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives; and to destroy, slay, and cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the king's name, and sealed with his seal, copies hereof were drawn out, and especial messengers were dispatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

In the interim, [n] Megabyzus having reduced the whole kingdom of Egypt, except the fenny part held by Amyrtæus, and there settled all matters again under the dominion of King Artaxerxes, he made Sartamas governor of that country, and returned to Susa, carrying with him Inarus and his Grecian prisoners. And having given the king an account of the articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of him a ratification of the same, although with difficulty, because of the king's anger against them for the death of Achæmenides his brother, who was slain in battle against them. But Hamestris, the mother of both these brothers, was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded, that Inarus and his Greeks should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but also required that Megabyzus himself, though her son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them.

[n] Ctesias.

And it was with difficulty that she was for this time put off with a denial.

The 13th day of Adar drawing near, [o] when the decree obtained by Haman for the destruction of the Jews was to be put in execution, their adversaries every where prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the Jews, on the other hand, by virtue of the second decree above mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by Esther and Mordecai, gathered themselves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of King Artaxerxes, to provide for their defence; so that, on the said 13th of Adar, through the means of these two different and discordant decrees, a war was commenced between the Jews and their enemies throughout the whole Persian empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, the deputies, and other officers of the king, knowing in what power Esther and Mordecai were then with him, through fear of them, so favoured the Jews, that they prevailed every where against all that rose up against them; and, on that day, throughout the whole empire, slew of their enemies 75,000 persons, and, in the city of Shushan, on that day and the next 800 more, among which were the ten sons of Haman, whom, by a special order from the king, they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same gallows on which Haman their father had been hanged before. An. 452. Artax. 15.

The Jews being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatened them with no less than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicings for it on the two days following, that is, on the 14th and 15th days of the said month of Adar. And, [p] by the order of Esther and Mordecai, these two days, with the 13th that preceded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof; the 13th as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them, and the other two as a feast, because of their deliverance from it. And [q] both this fast and this feast they constantly observe every year on those days even to this time. The fast they call the fast of Esther, and the feast the feast of Purim, from the Persian word Purim, (which signifieth lots,) because it was by the

[o] Esther ix. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

[p] Esther ix. 20—22. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

[q] Talmud in Megillah. Maimonides in Megillah. Buxtorfii Synagogo Judaica, c. 29.

casting of lots that Haman did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the Bacchanals of the Jews, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious excesses, especially in drinking wine even to drunkenness, which they think part of the duty of the solemnity; because it was by the means of the wine banquet (they say) that Esther made the king's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour which inclined him to grant the request which she made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore they think they ought to make their hearts merry also when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this festival, the book of Esther is solemnly read in all their synagogues from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants, because all these had their parts in this deliverance which Esther obtained for them. And as often as the name of Haman occurs in the reading of this book, the usage is for them all to clap with their hands, and stamp with their feet, and cry out, *Let his memory perish.* This is the last feast of the year among them: for the next that follows, is the passover, which always falls in the middle of the month which begins the Jewish year.

The Athenians, having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in Egypt, [r] sent Cimon with 200 sail again into Cyprus, there to carry on the war against the Persians; where he took Citium and Malum, and several other cities, and sent 60 sail into Egypt to the assistance of Amyrtæus. At the same time Artabasus was in those seas with a fleet of 300 sail, and Megabyzus, the other general of King Artaxerxes, had a land army of 300,000 men on the coasts of Cilicia; but neither of them had the success in this war which they had in the last. For,

An. 450. Artax. 15.

Cimon, on the return of his ships from Egypt, fell on Artabasus, and having taken an hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the coasts of Phœnicia; and being flushed with this success, on his return landed upon Megabyzus in Cilicia, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to Cyprus with a double triumph.

An. 449. Artax. 16.

Artaxerxes, hearing of these great losses sustained both at

[r] Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

sea and land, [s] became weary of so destructive a war; and therefore, upon thorough advice taken with his counsellors and ministers, came to a resolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly sent to his generals and commanders who had the charge of the Cyprian war, to make peace with the Athenians on the best terms they could. Whereon Megabyzus, and Artabasus sending ambassadors to Athens to make the proposal, plenipotentiaries were appointed on each side to treat of the matter; and they came to an agreement on these terms, 1*st*, That all the Grecian cities in Asia should have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; 2*dly*, That no Persian ship of war should any more appear on any of those seas, which lie from the Cyanean to the Chelidonean islands, that is, from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia; 3*dly*, That no Persian commander should come with an army by land within three days journey of those seas; 4*thly*, That the Athenians should no more invade any of the territories of King Artaxerxes. Which articles being ratified and sworn to on both sides, peace was concluded. And so this war ended, after it had continued, from the time that the Athenians burned Sardis (which was the first beginning of it,) full 51 years, to the destruction of a vast number of men on both sides. In the interim Cimon died at Citium, and the Athenians returned with his corpse into Athens, and after this came no more into those seas.

King Artaxerxes, [t] being continually solicited by his mother to deliver to her Inarus and the Athenians who were taken with him in Egypt, that she might revenge on them the death of her son Achæmenides, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importunities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request; and the prisoners were delivered to her: whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the public faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused Inarus [u] to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off; at which Megabyzus was exceedingly grieved and offended; for it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendered themselves, he thought it a great dishonour done him that it was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into Syria, the province of which he was governor, and, to

An. 448. Artax. 17.

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.
[t] Ctesias [u] Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias.

revenge the wrong, there raised an army, and rebelled against the king.

To repress this rebellion, [x] Artaxerxes sent Osiris, a prime nobleman of his court with 200,000 men, into Syria. But Megabyzus, having met him in battle, wounded him, and took him prisoner, and put his whole army to flight. But Artaxerxes, having sent a messenger to demand him, Megabyzus forthwith released him, and, as soon as his wounds were healed, sent him back again to the king.

An. 447. Artax. 18.

The next year following, the king [y] sent another army against him, under the command of Menoshtanes, son to Artarius, governor of Babylon, and one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the last; for, being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, Megabyzus gained a great victory over him. Whereby Artaxerxes perceiving that he could not prevail against him by force of arms, sent Artarius his brother, and Amytis his sister, who was wife to Megabyzus, with several other persons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty: by whose interposition the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But, while the king was in hunting, a lion having raised himself upon his hinder legs against him, Megabyzus, who was then present, out of his zeal to extricate the king from this danger, threw a dart at the lion, and slew him. But Artaxerxes, laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancour which he still retained in his mind against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off, for presuming to strike at the beast before him; and it was with difficulty that Amytis his wife, and Hamestris her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of banishment: whereon he was sent to Cyrta, a place on the Red sea, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his escape from thence, and, under the habit and disguise of a leper, got safe to his own house at Susa, he was there, by the means of his wife and her mother, again restored to the king's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which happened some years after, in the 76th year of his age, and was then very

An. 446. Artax. 19.

[x] Ctesias. [y] Idem.

much lamented by the king and all his court; for he was the ablest man, both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him Artaxerxes owed his life, as well as his crown, at his first accession to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a subject to have too much obliged his prince; and this was the cause of all the misfortunes that happened unto him.

Ezra [z] continued in the government of Judea till the end of this year, and, by virtue of the commission he had from the king, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole state of the Jewish church according to the law of Moses, in which he was excellently learned, and settled it upon that bottom upon which it afterwards stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which he had to do, were to restore the observance of the Jewish law, according to the ancient approved usages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the direction of the prophets, and to collect together and set forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures; in the performance of both which, the Jews tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the great synagogue, [a] which, they tell us, was a convention consisting of 120 men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of Ezra, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and, among these, they named Daniel, and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, as the first of them, and Simon the Just as the last of them; though, from the last mention which we have of Daniel in the holy scriptures, to the time of Simon the Just, there had passed no less than 250 years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account which they give of the history of those times: for they tell us that the whole Persian empire lasted only 52 years (as hath been before taken notice of,) and that the Darius whom we call Darius Hystaspes was the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and that the same was the Artaxerxes (which they will have to be the common name of all the kings of Persia in those times) who sent Ezra first, and afterwards Nehemiah, to Jerusalem, to restore the state of the Jews; and that Simon the Just was the same with Jaddua the high priest, who received Alexander at Jerusalem. And, according to this account, they might indeed all have lived to-

[z] Ezra viii, ix, x. Neh. ii.

[a] Vide Davidem Ganz, aliosque Judæorum Historicos, & Buxtorfii, Tiberiadem, c. x.

gether in the 7th year of this Darius (or Artaxerxes, as they would call him,) when they say Ezra first went to Jerusalem; for that was in the middle of the said 52 years, according to their computation, at which time Jaddua might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those councils; and it is not impossible but Daniel might have lived down to it, for the scriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, that these 120 men were such principal elders as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, to the death of Simon the Just, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the said Simon the Just (who was made high priest of the Jews in the 25th year after the death of Alexander the Great,) and Ezra had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is, by the Jews, chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency they tell us, it was done. And therefore [b] they look on him as another Moses: for the law, they say, was given by Moses, but it was revived and restored by Ezra, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the Babylonish captivity: and therefore they reckon him as the second founder of it. And it is a common opinion among them, [c] that he was Malachi the prophet; that he was called Ezra as his proper name, and Malachi (which signifieth an angel or messenger) from his office, because he was sent, as the angel and messenger of God, to restore again the Jewish religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And indeed, by virtue of that ample commission which he had from King Artaxerxes, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation; and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able, for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews, in the best posture they were then capable of; and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the Jews, that it is a common saying among their writers, that if the law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy by whom it should have been given.

[b] Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10.

[c] Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz. Chaldæus Paraphrastes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberias, c. 3.

As to the ancient and approved usages of the Jewish church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had, by Joshua and Zerubbabel, with the chief elders, their contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to Jerusalem, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practised themselves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents, or others who had lived before them: all these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same nature, Ezra brought under a review; and, having, after due examination, allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the Jews now call their oral law. For they [d] own a twofold law; the first the written law, which is recorded in the holy scriptures; and the second the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both these, they say, were given them by Moses from Mount Sinai; of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them, from generation to generation, by the tradition of the elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more: for the written law is, [e] they say in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law; which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written law no otherwise than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And hence it is a common saying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former to make room for the latter, and resolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the same

[d] Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejusdem, & Maimonidis Præfationem ad Seder Zeraim.

[e] Maimonidis Præfatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 3. & ejusdem Recensio Operis Talmudici. Shickardi Bechinath Happeru hiu, disp. 1. § 1. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib 2. c. 3. § 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the four Evangelists, § 23.

manner as the Romanists do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God than as it agrees with their traditionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it: which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them (Mark vii. 13.) that "they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions." But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their writings, that the words of the scribes are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets (where, by the words of the scribes and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their scribes and elders:) and, in other places, that the written text is only as water, but the Mishnah and Talmud (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras: and, again, that the written law is only as salt, but the Mishnah and Talmud as pepper and sweet spices. And, in many other sayings, very common among them, do they express the high veneration which they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the soul that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original is as followeth.

For they tell us, that at the same time [f] when God gave unto Moses the law on Mount Sinai, he gave unto him also the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them, from generation to generation, by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And, to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter are termed by the

[f] Perke Avoth, c. 1. Præfatio Maimonidis in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Porta Mosis, p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfii Recensio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

Jews constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai, because they do as firmly believe that he received them all from God, in his forty days converse with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text itself: that, on his return from this converse, he brought both of these laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of Israel in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he called Aaron thither unto him, and first delivered to him the text, which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral law, in the same order as he received both from God in the mount. Then Aaron arising, and seating himself at the right-hand of Moses, Eleazar and Ithamar, his sons, went next it; and being taught both these laws, at the feet of the prophet, in the same manner as Aaron had been, they also arose, and seated themselves, the one on the left-hand of Moses, and the other on the right-hand of Aaron; and then the 70 elders, who constituted the Sanhedrim, or great senate of the nation, went in, and, being taught by Moses both these laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the tent; and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the same manner: after this, Moses withdrawing, Aaron repeated the whole of both laws, as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew; and then Eleazar and Ithamar repeated the same; and, on their withdrawing, the 70 elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories: and that then they dispersed themselves among the whole congregation, and communicated to all the people of Israel what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God: that they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding generations: that the written text contained the 613 precepts into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations, all the manners, ways, and circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: that, after this, towards the end of the 40th year from their coming up out of the land of Egypt, in the beginning of the 11th month (which fell about the middle of our January,) Moses calling all the people of Israel together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death; and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot ought of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had slipped their

memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might arise in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God: and that hereon, they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the said beginning of the 11th month till the 6th day of the 12th month, was employed in instructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: and that, on the said 6th day, having delivered to them 13 copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the 13th to the Levites, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord; and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to Joshua his successor, he went, on the seventh day, up into Mount Nebo, and there died: that, after his death, Joshua delivered the said oral law to the elders who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it down from each other, till it came to Jeremiah, who delivered it to Baruch, and Baruch to Ezra, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just: that by him it was delivered to Antigonus of Socho, and by him to Jose the son of Johanan, and by him to Jose the son of Joezer, and by him to Nathan the Arbelite, and Joshua the son of Perachiah, and by them to Judah the son of Tabbai and Simeon the son of Shatah, and by them to Shemaiah and Abtalion, and by them to Hillel, and by Hillel to Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his arms when he was brought to the temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification; and by Simeon it was delivered to Gamaliel his son, (the same at whose feet Paul was brought up,) and by him to Simeon his son, by him to Gamaliel his son, and by him to Simeon his son, and by him to Rabbah Judah Hakkadosh his son, who wrote it into the book which they call the Mishnah.

But all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the Talmudists, without the least foundation, either in scripture, or in any authentic history for it. But since all this is now made a part of the Jewish creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word itself, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their reli-

gion into these traditions, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason that I have here inserted it.

But the truth of the matter is this: after the death of Simon the Just, [8] there arose a sort of men, whom they call the Tanaim or the Mishnical doctors, that made it their business to study, and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all which they ingrafted in the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them; whereby these traditions becoming as a snowball, the farther they rolled down from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antonius Pius governed the Roman empire; by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing: for they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides, on the second destruction which their country had undergone from the Romans a little before, in the reign of Adrian, the preceding emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of their land, the usual method of preserving their traditions had then in a great measure failed: and therefore there being danger, that, under these disadvantages, they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof, it was resolved, that they should be all collected together, and put into a book; and Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, who, from the reputed sanctity of his life, was called Hakkadosh, that *is*, *the holy*, and was then rector of the school which they had at Tiberias in Galilee, and president of the Sanhedrim that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the number of sixty-three; in which, under their proper heads, he metho-

[8] Zemech David. Juchasin Shalsheleth Haccabala. Buxtorfi Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, and 2611.

dically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law and their religion by the tradition of their ancestors. And this is the book called the Mishnah; which book was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to Moses from Mount Sinai, as well as the written word itself, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them both in Judea and Babylonia employed themselves to make comments on it: and these, with the Mishnah, make up both their Talmuds, that is, the Jerusalem Talmud, and the Babylonish Talmud. These comments they call the Gemara, *i. e.* the complement, because by them the Mishnah is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed: for the Mishnah is the text, and the Gemara the comment; and both together is what they call the Talmud. That made by the Jews of Judea, is called the Jerusalem Talmud; and that made by the Jews of Babylonia, is called the Babylonish Talmud. The former was completed about the year of our Lord 300, and is published in one large folio: the latter was published about 200 years after, in the beginning of the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the invention of printing; the last published at Amsterdam, is in twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite justled out by them) is contained the whole of the Jewish religion that is now professed among them. But the Babylonish Talmud is that which they chiefly follow: for the other, that is the Jerusalem Talmud, being obscure and hard to be understood, it is not now much regarded by them. But this and the Mishnah being the ancientest books which they have (except the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan,) and both written in the language and stile of the Jews of Judea, our countryman, Dr. Lightfoot, hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the New Testament, by parallel phrases and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the 150th year of our Lord, and the other about the 300th, the idioms, proverbial sayings, and phraseologies used in our Saviour's time, might very well be preserved in them. But the other Talmud being written in the language and stile of Babylonia, and not com-

piled till about the 500th year of our Lord, or, as some will have it, much latter, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However, it is now the Alcoran of the Jews, into which they have resolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almost with the same imposture as that of Mahomet) out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all that now pretend to any learning among them place their studies; and no one can be a master in their schools, or a teacher in their synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the Mishnah, but also in the comment thereon, which is the Gemara. And this comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of Gemara is wholly ingrossed by it; the Gemara of the Babylonish Talmud being that only which they now usually understand by that word. For this with the Mishnah to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules, and rites thereof; and therefore, it is, in their opinion, the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what *completes*, *fills up*, or *perfects*; for this is the meaning of the word in the Hebrew language. Out of this Talmud, Maimonides hath made an abstract, containing only the resolutions or determinations made therein on every case, without the descants, disputes, fables, and other trash under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entitled by him Yad Hachazakah, and is one of the completest digests of law that was ever made; I mean, not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the stile and method in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work; but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And, for this and other of his writings, he is deservedly esteemed the best author among them. They who professed this sort of learning, that is taught and propagated these traditionary doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue, to the publishing of the *Mishnah*, they were called [h] *Tanaim*; and they are the

[h] The word *Tanaim* hath its derivation from *Tanah*, which signifieth *to deliver by tradition*, and is the same in Chaldee with

Mishnical doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Mishnah* was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the *Mishnah*, to the publishing of the Babylonish Talmud, they were called [i] *Amoraim*; and they are the *Gemarical* doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Gemara* was composed. And, for about 100 years after the publishing of the *Talmud*, they were called [k] *Seburaim*, and after that [l] *Geonim*. And these were the several classes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But for these latter times, the general name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been distinguished for near 700 years past. For, about the year 1040, all their schools in Mesopotamia, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the Mahometan princes, who then governed in those parts, they have, since that, with the greatest number of their people, flocked into these western parts, especially into Spain, France, and England. And, from that time, all these pompous titles which they affected in the East being here dropped, they have retained none other for their learned men, from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only, that those of them who minister in their synagogues are called [m] *Chacams*, i. e. *wise men*.

But the [n] great work of Ezra was his collecting together and setting forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and Jews give him the honour of. And many of the ancient fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the Jews themselves: for they hold, that all the scriptures were lost and destroyed in the Babylonish

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Shanah in the Hebrew, from whence the word *Mishnah* is derived.

[i] i. e. *Dictators*; because they dictated those explications upon the *Mishnah*, which are contained in the *Gemara*.

[k] i. e. *Opinionists*; for they did not dictate any doctrines, but only inferred opinions by disputation, and probable arguments, from what had been before dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*.

[l] i. e. *The sublime or excellent doctors*; they were so called from the sublimity and excellency of their learning.

[m] *Chacam*, in the Hebrew language, signifieth *a wise man*.

[n] Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 11.

captivity, and that Ezra restored them all again by divine revelation. Thus saith [o] Irenæus, and thus say [p] Tertullian, [q] Clemens Alexandrinus, [r] Basil, and [s] others. But they had no other foundation for it than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the 14th chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras, a book too absurd for the Romanists themselves to receive into their canon. Indeed, in the time of Josiah, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that, besides that copy of it [t] which Hilkiah found in the temple, there was then none other to be had; for the surprise which Hilkiah is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which Josiah expressed at the hearing of it read, do plainly shew, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the king and the high priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of holy scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so religious a prince as King Josiah could not leave this long unremedied. By his order, copies were forthwith written out from this original; and search being made for all the other parts of holy scripture, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people, all those who were desirous of knowing the law of their God, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that, though within a few years after the holy city and temple were destroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burned and consumed with them; yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other sacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity. That Daniel had a copy of the holy scriptures with him in Babylon it is certain; for he [u] quotes the law, and also makes mention [x] of the prophecies of

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[o] Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3. c. 25.

[p] De Habitu Mulierum, c. 3. [q] Strom I.

[r] In Epistola ad Chilonem.

[s] Hieronymus contra Helvidium. Augustinus de Miraculis Sacræ Scripturæ, lib. 2. Chrysostomus, hom. 8. in Epist. ad Hebræos.

[t] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

[u] Daniel ix. 11, 13. [x] Daniel ix. 2.

the prophet Jeremiah; which he could not do, had he never seen them. And, in the 6th chapter of Ezra, it is said, that, on the finishing of the temple, in the sixth year of Darius, the priests and the Levites were settled in their respective functions, according as it is written in the law of Moses. But how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? and this was near 60 years before Ezra came to Jerusalem. And farther, in the 8th chapter of Nehemiah, when the people called for the law of Moses to have it read to them, they did not pray Ezra to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel: which plainly shews, that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a miraculous expedient, as that of a divine revelation, for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the faith of the whole, should it be held, that it owed its present being to such a revival; it being obvious for sceptical persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that Ezra did in this matter, was to get together as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and, out of them all, set forth a correct edition; in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars.

I. He corrected all the errors that had crept into these copies through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers; for, by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and set all at rights. Whether the [y] *Keri Cetib* that are in our present Hebrew Bibles, were of these corrections, I durst not say; the generality [z] of the Jewish writers tell us, that they were, and others among them hold them much ancienter, referring them with absurdity enough even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the books in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries com-

[y] The *Keri Cetib* are various readings in the Hebrew Bible. *Keri* signifieth that which is read, and *Cetib* that which is written. For where there are any such various readings, the wrong reading is written in the text (and that is called the *Cetib*,) and the true reading is written in the margin (and that is called the *Keri*.)

[z] De Keri Cetib vide Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum, lib. 1. c. 7. Buxtorfii Vindicias Veritatis Hebraicæ, part 2. c. 4. et Waltoni Prelogom. 8. § 18, 19, &c.

prised under them. It is most probable, that they had their original from the mistakes of the transcribers after the time of Ezra, and the observations and corrections of the Masorites made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings which had been observed by Ezra himself in the comparing of those copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of those errors which he found in the text; it is certain those could not be of that number which are now in those sacred books that were written by himself, or taken into the canon after his time; for there are *Kcri Cetibs* in them, as well as in the other books of the Hebrew scriptures.

II. He collected together all the books of which the holy scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the canon of scripture for his time. These books he [a] divided into three parts; 1*st*, the law; 2*dly*, the prophets; and, 3*dly*, the Cetubim or Hagiographa, *i. e.* the holy writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of, Luke xxiv. 44. where he saith, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled, which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me." For there, by the psalms, he means the whole third part called the Hagiographa: for that part beginning with the psalms, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the Jews the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus with them Genesis is called Bereshith, Exodus, Shemoth, Leviticus Vajikra, &c. because they begin with these Hebrew words. And Josephus makes mention of this same division. For he saith, in his first book against Apion, "We have only two and twenty books, which are to be believed as of divine authority; of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses, to the reign of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes king of Persia, the prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in 13 books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men." In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy: the writings of the prophets, 1. Joshua, 2. Judges, with Ruth, 3. Samuel,

[a] Buxtorfii Tiberias, c. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. § 6. Elias Levita in Massoreth, Hammasoreth, Leusdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Athiæ.

4. Kings, 5. Isaiah, 6. Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, 7. Ezekiel, 8. Daniel, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. Job, 11. Ezra, 12. Nehemiah, 13. Esther; and the Hagiographa, 1. the Psalms, 2. the Proverbs, 3. Ecclesiastes, 4. the Song of Solomon; which altogether make 22 books. This [b] division was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are 22 letters. But at present [c] they reckon these books to be 24, and dispose of them in this order; 1*st*, the law, which contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy; 2*dly*, the writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets and the latter prophets, the books of the former prophets are, 6. Joshua, 7. Judges, 8. Samuel, 9. Kings; and the books of the latter prophets, are, 10. Isaiah, 11. Jeremiah, 12. Ezekiel, and, 13, the twelve minor prophets; 3*dly*, the Hagiographa, which are, 14. the Psalms, 15. the Proverbs, 16. Job, 17. the Song of Solomon, which they call the Song of Songs, 18. Ruth, 19. the Lamentations, 20. Ecclesiastes, 21 Esther, 22. Daniel, 23 Ezra, and, 24. the Chronicles. Under the name of Ezra, they comprehend the book of Nehemiah: for the Hebrews, and also the Greeks, anciently reckoned Ezra and Nehemiah but as one book. But [d] this order hath not been always observed among the Jews; neither is it so now in all places; for there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians, as well Greeks as Latins. But no variation herein is of any moment; for in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these books were not received into the canon of the holy scriptures in Ezra's time: for Malachi, it is supposed, lived after him; and, in Nehemiah, mention is made of Jaddua as high priest, and of Darius Codomannus as king of Persia, who were at least 100 years after his time; and, in the 3d chapter of the first book of Chronicles, the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel is carried down for so many generations, as must necessarily make it reach to the time of Alexander the Great; and therefore this book could not be put into the canon till after his time. It is most likely, that the

[b] Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato.

[c] Buxtorfii Tiberias, c. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. §. 6. Leusdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Hæbræa Athiæ.

[d] Vide Hodium de Bibliorum Textibus Orginalibus.

two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as Malachi, were afterwards added in the time of Simon the Just, and that it was not till then that the Jewish canon of the holy scriptures was fully completed. And indeed these last books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of Ezra in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other parts of the Hebrew scriptures. The five books of the law are divided [c] into 54 sections. This division many of the Jews hold to be one of the constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai. But others, with more likelihood of truth, attribute it to Ezra. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the law of God; for [f] every sabbath day one of these sections was read in their synagogues. And this, we are assured, in the Acts of the Apostles, was done amongst them [g] *of old time*, which may well be interpreted from the time of Ezra. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then began anew with the first section, from the beginning of Genesis, the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was 54, because, in their intercalated years (a month being then added,) there were 54 sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one; for they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the law. [h] But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the 54 sections of the law, they substituted 54 sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that, when the reading of the law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the apos-

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[c] Buxtorfii Tiberias, c. 11. & Tract. de Parashis & Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. & c. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. § 6. Præfatio Leusdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. Elias in Tisbite.

[f] Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 16.

[g] Acts xv. 21.

[h] Elias in Tisbite. Buxtorfius & Schickardus, ibid. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 2. § 21 N. 3.

tles. And therefore, when Paul entered into the synagogue at Antiochia in Pisidia, it is said that [i] "he stood up to preach, after the reading of the law and the prophets;" that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, [k] "that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day," that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets.

These sections were divided into verses, which the Jews call Pesukim. They are marked out in the Hebrew Bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, i. e. *The end of the verse.* If Ezra himself was not the author of this division (as most say), it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it is very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the Targumists or Chaldee interpreters. For, after the Hebrew language had ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews, and the Chaldee grew up into use amongst them instead of it, as [l] was their case after their return from the Babylonish captivity,) their usage was, [m] that, in the public reading of the law to the people, it was read to them, first in the original Hebrew, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the interpreter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The [n] rule given in their ancient books is, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the Chaldee: but that in the prophets, the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the same three verses into

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[i] Acts xiii. 15. [k] Acts xiii. 27.

[l] David Kimchi in Præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. c. 7. Elias Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman.

[m] Waltone Prolegom. 3. § 24. Lightfoot, vol. I. p. 215 220. 357. and 1012. vol. II. 545. and 803. Buxtorfii Dissertatio de Linguæ Hebreæ Conservatione, p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. p. 2. exerc. 9. c. 5. § 9. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 3. § 3. Q. 1. Maimonides in Tephilin, c. 12. Shickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 2. § 1.

[n] Mishna in Tract. Megilla, c 4. Tract. Sopherim, c. 11.

Chaldee in the same manner; which manifestly proves, that the division of the scriptures into verses must be as ancient, as the way of interpreting them into the Chaldee language in their synagogues; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the scriptures publicly read in them after the Babylonish captivity. This was at first done only in the law (for [o] till the time of the Maccabees the law only was read in their synagogues;) but afterwards, in imitation hereof, the same was also done in the prophets, and the Hagiographa, especially after that the prophets began also to be publicly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the division of the holy scriptures into verses, it is most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common Hebrew Bibles, is by the two great points, called Soph-Pasuk, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way, is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this: If the distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues, and must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the scriptures in them, [p] it must then have place in their sacred synagogical books; for none other were used either by the readers or their interpreters in their public assemblies. But it hath been [q] anciently held as a rule among them, that any points or accents written into these sacred books pollute and profane them; and therefore no copy either of the law or the prophets now used in their synagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, whatever may be the practice of the modern Jews, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them; since, in many particulars, they have varied from the ancient usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The division of the law and the prophets into verses, among the Jews, is certainly very ancient: for mention of them is made in [r] the

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[o] Buxtorfius in Bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 283.

[p] Morinus in Exercitationibus Biblicis, part 2. exercit. 15. c. 1. § 9.

[q] Tract. Sopherim, c. 3. Morini Exercit. Bibl. part 2. exercit. 15. c. 4.

[r] Tract. Megilla, c. 4. § 4. ubi dicitur, 'Qui legit in lege non legit minus quam tres versus. Non legit interpreti plus quam unum versum, & in prophetis tres.'

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Mishna; and that the reason of this division was for the direction of the readers and the Chaldee interpreters, is also there implied. And therefore supposing such a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those [s] that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted, seem not to have considered, that a line often ends in an imperfect sense, and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore a division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the Mishna makes mention of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues; for there could be no true reading or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore, if the distinction of verses in their sacred synagogical books were anciently discernible only by lines, it could be no otherwise according to the manner in which Maimonides says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a break. For that [t] author, out of the Talmud, tells us, that the parchments, on which they were written, were to be of six hand's breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of an hand's breadth; and that each line in those columns was to contain 30 of their letters. And therefore, if a break were made where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end intended. But there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break; and then there could no distinction at all be made this way between that verse and the next. And the second is, [u] that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a verse: but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most likely, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines from one side of the parchment to the other, and that

[s] Morinus in Exercitationibus Biblicis, part 2. exercit. 15. c. 2.
[t] Maimonides de Libro Legis, c. 7. and c. 9. Talmud in Bava Bathra, fol. 16.
[u] Morinus, ibid.

the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner as the Stichi afterwards were in the Greek Bibles. For [x] the manner of their writing those Stichi at first was, to allow a line to every Stichus, and there to end the writing where they ended the Stichus, leaving the rest of the line void, in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky, for the avoiding of both these inconveniences, the way afterwards was, to put a point at the end of every Stichus, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And, in the same manner I conceive the Pesukim or verses of the Hebrew Bibles were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the Hebrew Bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniences that the Greeks after did in the first way of their writing their Stichi; and therefore came to the same remedy, that is, they did put the two points above mentioned (which they call Soph-Pasuk) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their sections, as well the smaller as the greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the Hebrew Bible were so many lines therein, because among the ancients of other nations, about the same time, the lines in the writings of prose authors, as well as of poets, were termed verses; and hence it is that we are told, [y] that Zoroastres' works contained two millions of verses, and [z] Aristotle's 445,270, though neither of them wrote any thing but in prose; and so also we find the writings [a] of Tully, [b] of Origen, [c] of Lanctantius, and [d] others,

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[x] Vide Millii Prolegomena ad Græcum Testament. p. 90.

[y] Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

[z] Diogenes Laertius in Vita Aristotelis.

[a] Asconius Pedianus Ciceronis verba citat, *versu a primo octingentisimo quinquagesimo*, &c.

[b] Hieronymus in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, & alibi.

[c] Hieronymus in Epistola 124. ad Damasum.

[d] Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. 'In hoc volumine vitas

who were all prose writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the Bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning, that in reading to the end of one verse, they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again; for [e] the avoiding of this, they came to the way of writing in columns and in short lines, as is above mentioned. But all this I mean of their sacred synagogical books. In their common Bibles, they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so as they may best serve for their instruction and convenience in common use. If the Jews at present in their synagogical books, leave out the two points Soph-Pasuk at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above mentioned, against putting points or accents into their sacred books, to a too rigorous meaning: for by those points therein mentioned, seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such other as affect the text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the Jews, out of an over superstitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their schools and universities in [f] Mesopotamia,

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excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.' And Josephus tells us, in the conclusion of his Antiquities, 'That this work of his contained 20 books, and 60,000 στίχοι or verses.' For the Greek στίχος is the same with the Latin verses, and both the same originally with what we call a line in writing. For verses properly is a line, whether in prose or verse, and is so called *a vertendo*, because the writer, when he is got to the end of one line, turns back his hand, and begins the next, and so doth the reader also his eye, from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Vide Menagii Observationes in Diogenis Laertii, lib. 4. No. 24. Jerome also, in his preface before his Latin version of the book of Daniel, saith, that Methodius, Eusebius, and Appollinarius, answered the objections of Porphyry against the scriptures, multis versuum millibus, i. e. *by many thousands of verses*, that is, *lines*; for they all wrote in prose.

[e] Maimonides in Libro Legis, c. 7.

[f] They had these schools at Naerda, Sora, and Pombeditha in

and there held their synedrial and consistorial assemblies of their Rabbis, in which they hammered their law, and also their ancient traditions, by a vast number of new constitutions and new determinations, into what form they pleased.

But the division of the holy scriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The psalms indeed were always divided as at present: for [g] St. Paul, in his sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, quotes the second psalm. But, as to the rest of the holy scriptures, the division of them into such chapters as at present, is what the [h] ancients knew nothing of. [i] Some attribute it to Stephen Langton, who was archbishop of Canterbury, in the reigns of King John, and King Henry III. his son. But the true author of this invention was Hugo de Sancto Caro, who being from a Dominican monk advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly called Hugo Cardinalis. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth.

This [k] Cardinal Hugo, who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the holy scriptures, and made a comment upon the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administered to him the occasion of inventing the first concordance that was made of the holy scriptures, that is, that of the vulgar Latin Bible. For conceiving that such an index of all the words and phrases in the holy scriptures would be of great use for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it; and forthwith set a great number of the monks

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Mesopotamia, till about the year of our Lord 1040, when they were driven out thence by the Mahometan princes that reigned in those parts.

[g] Acts xiii. 33.

[h] The Greek Bibles among Christians anciently had their τίτλοι and καφάλαια; but the intent of them was rather to point out the sum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vastly different from the present chapters: for many of them contained only a very few verses, and some of them no more than one.

[i] Balæus cent. 3. p. 275.

[k] Buxtorfii Præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus in Exercit. Bibl. part 2. exercit. 17. c. 3. Gerebradius in Chronico ad annum Christi 1244. Sixtus Senensis Bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 3. c. 2. § 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 2. c. 17. § 8.

of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper classes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this design, and, by the help of so many hands, he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by those who followed him, especially by Arlottus Thuscus, and Conradus Halberstadius, the former a Franciscan, and the other a Dominican friar, who both lived about the end of the same century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the holy scriptures, to make it answer this purpose, the cardinal found it necessary, in the first place, to divide the books into sections, and the sections into under divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out, in the index, where every word or passage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the holy scriptures, in the vulgar Latin Bibles, was without any division at all; and therefore, had the index referred only to the book, the whole book, perchance, must have been read over, ere that could be found which was sought for; but, by referring to it by this division and subdivision, it was immediately had at first sight. And these sections are the chapters which the Bible hath ever since been divided into. For, on the publishing of this concordance the usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it; and, for the sake of the use of it, all divided their Bibles in the same manner as Hugo had done. For the references in the concordance being made by these chapters and the subdivisions of them, unless their Bibles were so divided too, the concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this division of the several books of the Bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places, and among all people, wherever the Bible itself is used in these western parts of the world. But the subdivision of the chapters was not then by verses as now. Hugo's way of subdividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal distance from each other, according as the chapters were longer or shorter. In long chapters all these seven letters were used, in others fewer, according as the length which the chapters were of did require. For the subdivision of chapters by verses, which is now in all our Bibles, was not introduced into them till some ages after, and then it was from the Jews that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its original on this occasion. About [1] the year

[1] Præfatio Buxtorfii ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. Bibl. part. 2. exercit. 17. c. 3.

1430, there lived here, among the western Jews, a famous Rabbi, called by some Rabbi Mordecai Nathan, by others Rabbi Isaac Nathan, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then, by a change of it, by the other. This Rabbi being much conversant with the Christians, and having frequent disputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great use which they made of the Latin concordance composed by Cardinal Hugo, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the scriptures that they had occasion to consult; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a concordance to the Hebrew Bible for the use of the Jews. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445; so that he was just seven years in the composing of it. And the first publishing of it happening about the time that printing [m] was first invented, it hath, since that time, undergone several editions from the press. That which was printed at Basil by Buxtorf the son, anno 1632, is the best of them: for Buxtorf the father had taken great pains about it, to make it more correct and complete; and Buxtorf the son added also his labours to those of his father, for the perfecting of it, and published it, with both their improvements, in the year I have mentioned; and, by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best book of its kind that is extant, and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the Hebrew scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way can well be without it, it being the best dictionary, as well as the best concordance to them. In the composing of this book, Rabbi Nathan finding it necessary to follow the same division of the scripture into chapters, which Hugo had made in them, it had the like effects as to the Hebrew Bibles, that Hugo's had as to the Latin, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the Hebrew Bibles, which were afterwards either written out or printed for common use. For this concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in Nathan's concordance being every where by chapters according to Hugo's

[m] Printing was first invented at Mentz, in Germany, by John Fust and John Gutenberg, A. D. 1440. See Calvisius under that year, and Pancirollus with Salmuth on him, part 2. tit. 12.

division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their Bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them in the same chapters also. And from hence the division of the scriptural books into chapters first came into the Hebrew Bibles. But, Nathan though he followed Hugo in the division of the scriptural books into chapters, yet did not so in the division of the chapters by the letters A. B. C. &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter by introducing a better usage, that is, by using the division which was made by verses. This division, I have shewn, was very ancient; but it was till now without any numbers put to the verses. This was first done by Rabbi Nathan for the sake of his concordance: for therein all his references being by the chapters and verses, as there was a necessity that those who used this concordance should have their Bibles thus divided into chapters and verses also; so was it, that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verses that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our English concordances; as in Newman's, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering, therefore, of the verses in the chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every chapter by the verses, instead of doing it by letters, at an equal distance in the margin, was Nathan's invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which Hugo had set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verse. And this hath been the usage of the Jews in all their Hebrew Bibles ever since, till of late Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his two fair and correct editions of the Hebrew Bible printed by him in that city, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1*st*, He hath introduced into these editions the use of the Indian figures: and, 2*dly*, hath placed them at every verse, where the numerical Hebrew letters are not; so that continuing the numerical Hebrew letters, as formerly, at every fifth verse, he had put the Indian figures at all the rest. Before this we were to number from every fifth verse to find any intermediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the Jews will follow this new way in their future editions, I know not; but this I know, that this second edition of Athias' Hebrew Bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use, of any that have been as yet set forth. After Rabbi Nathan had brought in this use

of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way, than the quoting of what is in them by the letters, A. B. C. &c. set in the margin. And therefore [n] Vatablus having, from this pattern, published a Latin Bible, with the chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions that have been since set forth. And all that have published concordances, as well as all other writers, hath ever since that time quoted the scriptures by the number of chapters and verses according to this division. So that, as the Jews borrowed the division of the books of the holy scriptures into chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the chapters into verses from the Jews. And thus they have helped each other to make the present editions of the Bible much more convenient for common use than otherwise they would have been. And Robert Stephanus, taking an hint from hence, made a like division of the chapters of the New Testament into verses also, and for the same reason as Rabbi Nathan had done so before him as to the Old Testament, that is, for the sake of a concordance, which he was then composing for the Greek Testament, and which was afterwards printed by Henry Stephanus his son, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this division of the holy scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use every where among us in these western parts: so that, not only all Latin Bibles, but all Greek Bibles also, and all others, that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that division of the holy scriptures into chapters and verses, which is now every where in use, had its original.

III. The third thing which Ezra did about the holy scriptures, in his edition of them, was, he added, in several places, throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit, by which they were at first wrote. Of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which giving an account of the death and burial of Moses, and of the succession of Joshua after him: it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the pen-

[n] Morinus in Exercit. Biblic. part 2. exercit. 17. c. 4. § 2.

man of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable, that it was added by Ezra at this time. And such also may we reckon the several interpolations which occur in many places of the holy scriptures. For that there are such interpolations, is undeniable; there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties, that can never be solved without the allowing of them. As for instance, Gen. xii. 6. it is remarked, on Abraham's coming into the land of Canaan, that the Canaanites *were then in the land*; which is not likely to have been said, till after the time of Moses, when the Canaanites being extirpated by Joshua, were then no more in the land. And Gen. xxii. 14. we read, "As it is said, to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." But Mount Moriah (which is the mount there spoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of it as a proverbial saying, that obtained among the Israelites in after ages, the whole stile of the text doth manifestly point at a time after Moses, when they were in possession of the land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation. Gen. xxxvi. 3. it is written; "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel." Which could not have been said, till after there had been a king in Israel; and therefore they cannot be Moses' words; but must have been interpolated afterwards. Exod. xvi. 35. the words of the text are: "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna, till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." But Moses was dead before the manna ceased; and therefore these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterwards. Deut. ii. 12. it is said, "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them before them and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them." Which could not have been written by Moses, Israel having not till after his death entered into the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. Deut. iii. 11. it is said, "Only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?" The whole stile and strain of which text, especially that of the last clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that king was slain; and therefore

could not be written by Moses, who died within five months after. In the same chapter, ver. 14. it is said, "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob, unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan, Havoth, Jair, unto this day." Where the phrase, *unto this day*, speaks a much greater distance of time after the fact related, than those few months in which Moses survived after that conquest; and therefore what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand, than that of Moses, long after his death. And in the book of Proverbs, (which was certainly King Solomon's,) in the beginning of the 25th chapter it is written, "These are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Which must certainly have been added many ages after Solomon; for Hezekiah was of the 12th generation in descent from him. Many more instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly Ezra was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and Simon the Just and all the rest which were added afterwards; for they all seemed to refer to those latter times. But these additions do not detract any thing from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This as to Ezra is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine penmen of the holy scriptures; for he was most certainly the writer of that book in the Old Testament which bears his name; and is, upon good grounds, supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of Chronicles, as perchance also he was of the book of Esther. And, if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing else be so which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing: for as it was necessary for the church of God that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

IV. He changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, putting, instead of them, the new names by

which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus Gen. xiv. 14. Abraham is said to have pursued the kings, who carried Lot away captive, as far as Dan; whereas the name of that place was Laish, till the Danites, long after the death of Moses, possessed themselves of it, and [o] called it *Dan, after the name of Dan their father:* and therefore it could not be called Dan in the original copy of Moses, but that name must have been put in afterwards, instead of that of Laish, on this review. And so in several places in Genesis, and also in Numbers, we find mention made of Hebron; whereas the name of that city was Kirjath Arba, till Caleb, having obtained the possession of it after the division of the land, called it Hebron, after the name of Hebron, one of his sons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of Moses, by way of exchange for that of Kirjath Arba, which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the study of those who governed the church of God in those times was to render the scripture as plain and intelligible to the people as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. He wrote out the whole in the Chaldee character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the Babylonish captivity, he changed the old Hebrew character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the Samaritans; among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old Phœnician character, from which the Greeks borrowed theirs. And the old Ionian alphabet bears some similitude to it, as [p] Scaliger shews in his notes upon Eusebius' Chronicon. In this Moses and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character in which the holy scriptures were written; and that the Samaritan was never in use for this purpose, but only among the Samaritans, who, in opposition (say they) to the Jews, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of Moses (which is the only scripture they receive)

[o] Joshua xix. 47. Judges xviii. 29.

[p] In Animadversionibus ad Fusebii Chronicon, p. 116, 111, &c.

in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion: for the Chaldee character is one of the beautifullest, and the Samaritan the uncouthest, and the most incapable of calligraphy of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of the most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for [q] there are many old Jewish shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in Judea, with this inscription on them in Samaritan letters, Jerusalem Kedoshah, *i. e.* Jerusalem the holy; which inscription shews, that they could not be the coin either of the Israelites of the ten tribes, or of the Samaritans who after succeeded them in their land; for neither of them would have put the name of Jerusalem upon their coin, or ever have called it the holy city. These pieces, therefore, must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity; and this proves the Samaritan character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said, that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands: for Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman tells us of several which he met with in his time that had this inscription upon them in Samaritan letters, who lived above 500 years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present Hebrew character was introduced among the Jews after the Babylonish captivity: and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was Ezra that did first put the holy scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to Jerusalem. [r] Eusebius, in his Chronicon, tells us so, and [s] St. Jerome doth the same: and so do also both the Talmuds; and the generality of learned men, as well among the Jews as Christians, hold to this opinion. Capellus hath written a tract for it, and Buxtorf the son another against it. They who shall think fit to read them, will see all that can be said on either side. But I think the argument, which is brought from the shekels, cannot be answered. But,

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[q] Scaliger in Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 117. col. 2. Vossius de Arte Grammatica, lib. 1. c. 9. Waserus de Nommis Hebræorum. Waltonus de Siclorum Formis et in Prolegom. 3. § 29, 30, &c.

[r] Ad Annum 4740.

[s] In Præfatione ad 1. Regum, et in Comment. in Ezekielem, c. 9.

VI. Whether Ezra, on this review, did add the vowel points, which are now in the Hebrew Bibles, is an harder question to be decided. It went without contradiction in the affirmative, till Elias Levita, a German Jew, wrote against it, about the beginning of the Reformation. Buxtorf the father endeavoured to refute his arguments. But Cappellus, a Protestant divine of the French church, and Professor of Hebrew in their university at Saumur, hath, in a very elaborate discourse, made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. Buxtorf, the son in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an answer to it; but not with that satisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the question, and then inquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

And first, as to the state of the question, it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us Christians, than it is among the Jews. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both sides, and which Elias Levita comes in unto as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fixed and settled by the vowel points in all the books of holy scripture, is the true, genuine, and authentic reading, as it came from the sacred penmen themselves of the said books, and consequently is as much of divine authority as the letters: only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The question therefore, between them is only about the time when this reading was first marked and expressed in their Bibles, by the present vowel points. This Elias and his followers say, was not done till after the finishing of the Talmud, about 500 years after Christ; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them,) that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of Ezra, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading according to the present punctuation (for they all hold this to be the very same, which was dictated with the word itself by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning,) but about the antiquity of the figures and points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their present Bibles. But among us Christians, who have no regard to what the Jews tell us of their oral tradi-

tion, and their preserving of the true reading of the scriptures by it, the question is about the authority of the reading itself; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by Ezra, and therefore of the same divine authority with the rest of the text, or else invented since by the Jewish critics called the Masorites; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the style of the language, or the nature of the context, or any thing else, shall give reason for a better reading? And this being the state of the question, as it is now in debate among Christians, that side of it which I have here last mentioned is that which is now generally held for the truth; and these following arguments make strongly for it.

1. The sacred books made use of among the Jews in their synagogues [t] have ever been, and still are, without the vowel points; which could not have happened, had they been placed there by Ezra, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters; for had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that, when the holy scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being; and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of an human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the original; and [u] therefore they have been ever kept with the same care in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogue, as the original draught of the law of Moses anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them even to this day.

2. The ancient [x] various readings of the sacred text, called Keri Cetib, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points; which seems manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text; for, if

[t] Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 1. c. 4.
[u] Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 14.
[x] Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 1 c. 7.

they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. The [y] ancient Cabbalists draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters; which is an argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text; for had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one, as well as from the other, as the latter Cabbalists have done.

4. If [z] we compare with the present pointed Hebrew Bibles the version of the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, or the Latin version of Jerome, we shall in several places find, that they did read the text otherwise than according to the present punctuation; which is a certain argument, that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority; for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. Neither [a] the Mishnah nor the Gemara, either that of Jerusalem, or that of Babylon, do make any mention of these vowel points; although in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted it, if they had been in being, when those books were written; or if in being, had been looked on by the Jews of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find [b] the least hint of them in Philo Judæus or Josephus, who are the oldest writers of the Jews, or in any of the ancient Christian writers for several hundred years after Christ. And although among them Origen and Jerome were well skilled in the Hebrew language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. Origen flourished in the third, and Jerome in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in Judea, and there more especially applied himself to the study of the Hebrew learning, and much conversed with the Jewish Rabbies for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the Jews in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially, since, in his com-

[y] Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 1. c. 5.
[z] Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 1. c. 8, 9, 10.
[a] Arcan. Punct. c. 5. [b] Arcan. Punct. lib. 1. c. 10.

mentaries, there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them; and it cannot be denied, but that this is a very strong argument against them.

Many more arguments are urged on this side of the question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For, to instance in one of them, great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the Chaldee and not of the Hebrew dialect. But it is certain the Jews had the present names of their months from the Chaldeans, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that, notwithstanding this, the names of these months were in use in the time of Ezra; for they are named in scripture, both in the book of Ezra, and also in that of Nehemiah, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in Ezra's time too, notwithstanding this objection? And this is all which those on the other side contend for. But the other arguments which I have above recited are of much greater weight. If any one would see all at large that hath been said on this head, Capellus' book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

But there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion; and much hath been written for it, especially by the two Buxtorfs, the father and the son. Their arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them, are these which follow.

1. The [c] ancient books Bahir and Zohar, which are said to have been written, the one a little before, and the other a little after the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanswerable against the latter invention of them, could we be sure, that these books are as ancient as the Jews say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us, [d] that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themselves which manifestly prove them to be so: and, for above 1000 years after the pretended times of

[c] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. § 3. Buxtorfius filius de Punctorum Antiquitate, part 1. c. 5.

[d] Vide Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 2. c. 3. & Buxtorfii Bibliothecam Rabbinicam in Bahir & Zohar.

their composure, they were never heard of among the Jews themselves, nor were they ever quoted, nor made mention of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that, till after these thousand years, they never had any being; but that a false date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them, to recommend them to the world with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times; but the other is still in manuscript. They are both Cabbalistical books; and the most they are remarkable for, is the obscurity of their style, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them.

2. That whereas it is said, on the other side, that the Masorites of Tiberias invented the vowel points about 500 years after Christ, this [e] appears very unlikely. For the schools which the Jews had in Judea, were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned men there left of sufficient ability for such a performance: for, at that time, all their learned men were removed into the province of Babylon, where they had their universities of Sora, Naherda, and Pombeditha, and nothing of their learning was then left in Judea that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at Tiberias, or any where else in that land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the assertion. Elias Levita indeed saith it, and Aben Ezra, who wrote about the middle of the 12th century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancienter writer either of their being invented by the Masorites at Tiberias, or any where else after the Talmud; and it is not likely that, if this had been so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence, without the least mention made of it by any of the Jewish writers. But [f] to all this it is replied, that, in historical matters, it is not to be regarded what the Jews write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain there were Jews eminent in their way of learning at Tiberias in St.

[e] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 5—7. Buxtorfius filius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part 2. c. 11.

[f] Capellus in Arcano Punctationis, lib. 2. c. 15.

Jerome's time: for he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but 80 years before the time assigned; and it must be acknowledged, that nothing of this can be gainsaid. And it is further added by those, who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the invention of these vowel points either to the time or place which Elias Levita assigneth for it; but only say, that it must be after the time of the writings of Jerome, and after the time of the composure of the Talmud, because in neither of these any mention is made of them: and this will necessarily carry it down below the 500th year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or 200 or 300 years afterward, or at Tiberias, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by Ezra; that they are not of a divine, but only of an human original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the Talmud, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this, is only guess and conjecture, which doth not at all affect the question; and therefore they will not contend about it.

3. If by the Masorites, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the authors of the present Masorah, which is printed with the great Bibles of Venice and Basil, it is [g] certain they cannot be the inventors of these points. For a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily prove them to have been long before fixed and settled; for none use to criticise upon their own works. To [h] which it is replied, that there were Masorites, from the time of Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, down to the time of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030; that some of these invented the points sometime after the making of the Talmud; and that, after that, some of those who succeeded them, perchance 200 or 300 years after, made these criticisms and remarks upon them. For the Masorah that is now printed in the Bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgement of all the chief remarks and criticisms which those men did make upon the Hebrew text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

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[g] Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. Buxtorfius filius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part 2. c. 6.

[h] Arcan um Punctationis, lib. 2, c. 10.

4. That, when the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother-tongue of the Jews (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the Babylonish captivity,) it [j] was scarce possible to teach that language without the vowel points; and this is the best and strongest argument that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

5. That, if it be allowed that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the Papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the holy scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the decisions of the infallible guide which they pretend to have therein. And, to avoid this ill consequence, is indeed the most prevailing cause that hath drawn into this opinion most of those learned Protestants that contend for it. But, to answer both these last arguments, and settle the whole of this controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter in these following positions.

I. That the vowel points having never been received by the Jews into their synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the holy scripture of the Old Testament, but reckoned only as an human invention added for the easier reading of the text, after the Hebrew ceased from being a vulgar language among them. And the Jews having been, till the time of Christ, the true church of God, and his chosen people, [k] to whom those scriptures and sacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of Christ hath received them, and their evidence is that which is to witness and determine unto us what part of them is authentic scripture, and what is not.

II. It is most likely that these vowel points were the invention of the Masorites, a little after the time of Ezra. That they came into use a little after the time of Ezra, seems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the Hebrew text. And that they were invented by the Masorites, seems most likely, because of the business and profession which these men employed themselves in. For,

[j] Buxtorfius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part 2. c. 10.

[k] Rom. iii. 2.

1*st*, These Masorites [1] were a set of men, whose profession it was to write out copies of the Hebrew scriptures, and to criticise upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true readings of them; and what they observed and taught in order hereto is by the Jews called the Masorah. But this tradition reached no farther than the readings of the Hebrew scriptures: for, as the Jews held a tradition of the true interpretations of the holy scriptures (which I have already spoken of,) so also did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original Hebrew language. And this last they will have, as to the law, to be a constitution of Moses from mount Sinai, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that, when God gave unto Moses the law in Mount Sinai, he taught him first the true readings of it, and secondly the true interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down, from generation to generation, by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the interpretations were by the Mishnah and Gemara. The former they call Masorah, which signifieth *tradition*, and the other they call Cabbala, which signifieth *reception*; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from generation to generation; in the doing of which, there being tradition on the one hand, and reception on the other, that which relates to the readings of the Hebrew scriptures hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the interpretations of them from the latter. And what they say of this as to the law, they say also of it as to the prophets and the rest of the Hebrew scriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from those who were the first penman of them, to whom, they say, God revealed both at the same time when he revealed to them the word itself. As those who studied and taught the Cabbala were called the Cabbalists, so those who studied and taught the Masorah were called the Masorites. For although the word Cabbala be now restrained to signify the mystical interpretations of the scriptures only, and, in the common usage of speech now among the Jews, they alone are called Cabbalists who give themselves up to these dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word, the Cabbala extends to all manner of traditions which are of the in-

[1] Eliæ Levitæ Masoreth Hammasoreth. Buxtorfius in Tiberiade. Waltoni prolegom. 8.

terpretative part of the Hebrew scriptures; and the Cabbalist is the general name of all those who professed the study and knowledge of them; and they were all those whom, under the names of Tannaim, Amoraim, Seburaim, &c. I have already made mention of. And as these Cabbalists first began a little after the time of Ezra, so also did the Masorites; and their whole business and profession being to study the true readings of the Hebrew text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of these points is to serve to this purpose.

And, 2*dly*, this use of them being absolutely necessary, from the time that the Hebrew language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of Ezra,) we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced: for from this time the Hebrew language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred text could be read, which was written therein: as there was need of such a profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the scriptures as written in it; so was there as much need of these vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive, how they could do either without them, or some other such marks that might serve them for the same purpose. What the Jews tell us of preserving the true readings only by tradition and memory is too absurd to be swallowed by any one; for had there been nothing else but tradition and memory in this case to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any one's memory, but all must necessarily have dropped in the way and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this case; for to those who thorougly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other Hebrew books; for, excepting the Bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their [m] Rabbinical authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed; and yet all that understand the lan-

[m] All those authors, as originally written, are without points. But the Mishnah and their Machzor have lately had points put to them; but still they are reckoned the best editions that are without them.

guage can read them without points as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those who do not understand the language; for how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learned it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for those who thus understood the language to learn to read it by the letters only without the vowels. But when the Hebrew became a dead language, the case was altered: for then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore, having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps whereby to know with what vowel every syllable was to be pronounced; and to give them this help the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented: and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary, that is, when the Hebrew came to be a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order in which it now is till some ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the Hebrew language could never have been learned, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels: but they who will not allow the points to have been so ancient [n] tell us, that the letters Aleph, He, Vau, Yod, which they call *matres lectionis*, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the Hebrew way of writing, both in the Bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the syllables are not without them; and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading instead of them, since every where they are not to be found? Besides, there are none of these letters which have not, according as they are placed in different words, the different sounds of every one of the vowels some time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As, for example, the letter Aleph hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel [a,] but sometimes of [e,] sometimes of [i,] sometimes of [o,] and sometimes of [u,] according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And, farther, all the other oriental languages have in

[n] Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 1. c. 18.

their alphabets these same letters, which they call *matres lectionis*, as well as the Hebrew, as, for example, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Turkish, the Persian, the Malayan, &c. and yet they have their vowels, too, to help the reading: neither can we find that they were ever without them; though such as are well versed in any of these languages read them readily without vowels; and all the books, epistles, orders, and public instruments that are in them, are generally so written. And why then should we think the Hebrew had not such vowels also, especially when, after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them? The unpointed words in Hebrew are the same with abbreviations in Latin; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the Latin language by books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the Hebrew ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so: for the abbreviations in Latin are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other: but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed Hebrew; for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may, as pronounced with different vowels, be different words: as, for example, there are two conjugations in Hebrew, one called Pihel, and the other Pubal; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tenses (except the infinitive) with the same letters, and they, as differently pointed, may be either the one or the other; and although, in the reading, the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not, by pointed books, first learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed books? And abundance of other such instances may be given in the Hebrew language, wherein the same letters, as differently pointed, make different words, and of different significations; and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different pronunciations, belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification? All that can be said against this is, That the Samaritan hath no such vowels; but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the Hebrew, it is taught and learned without them. To this I answer,

that it is true that all the books which we have as yet brought us into these western parts, in the Samaritan character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the Hebrew Bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove, that they have no such vowels in use among them: multitudes of books are brought us out of the East, in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, all written with the letters only without any vowel marks. But this doth not prove that they have none; for it is certain that they all have them and use them, where there is need of them; and therefore it is no evidence but that the Samaritan may have them also, though all the books that we have hitherto seen in it are without them. The sect of the Samaritans are those only who use this character and language, (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the Hebrew in another character;) and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the east. And what their practice may be as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such,) we have no account of, either *pro* or *con*, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the Hebrew, and all other such languages in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those books, after the languages are become dead languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language, it is impossible to be done; and therefore the only way to make it possible, is to learn the language first by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of people, who, being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it; and that especially in the Jew's case, since their neighbours on each side of them (I mean the Syrians and Arabians) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them either have taken the same, or learned to have framed others like them. Though the Greeks in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned Greek, from which the modern doth as

much differ, as the Chaldee from the Hebrew,) but they found out accents, spirits, and several other marks to help those who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And so also are there in the Latin several such marks; as, for example, a mark over the [ò] and [é] at the end of adverbs, to distinguish them from nouns ending in those vowels, and the mark over the [á] ablative to distinguish it from [a] nominative, &c. none of which marks were ever used, while the Latin language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterwards. And is it possible that the Jews only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their language became a dead language, for the easier learning and reading of it; but, on the contrary, should have continued so many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauses, or stops, but also without any figures so much as to denote the vowels with which their letters were to be pronounced; The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures, evidently proves that they must have had them; and that as soon as they needed them, which was, as soon as their language became a dead language, and was thenceforth to be learned by books (and not by common converse) as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of Ezra (as hath been already shewn,) it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the Hebrew language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such like signs to serve for the same purpose is not material; and therefore I shall raise no inquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely, that no more were at first used than there was a necessity for; but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of 15, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after-Masorites. Three served the Arabs, and five most other nations; and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the Jews. And it is most likely that the same profession of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were also the authors of all those other inventions which have been added to the Hebrew text for the easier reading and better understanding of it. The dividing of the law into sections, and the sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works. [p] Originally every book of the Hebrew Bible was

[p] Elias Levita in Masoreth Hammasoreth.

written as in one verse, without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words. But when the public reading of the law was brought into use among the Jews, and some part of it read every sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into 54 sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each sabbath, and the whole gone over every year, as hath been before observed. And, when the disuse of the Hebrew language among them made it necessary, that it should not only be read to them in the original Hebrew, but also interpreted in the Chaldee, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had, verse by verse, gone through the whole section. And, in imitation hereof, the like division was afterwards made in all the rest of the holy scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the Hebrew language by book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the people. And, sometime after, the accents and pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is, for the easier and more distinct reading of the text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full stop (which Athnach, Revia, and Silluk, do:) but as for the musical use for which only the others were added to the Hebrew text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. These vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the Masorites, whereby they preserved to themselves the true readings of the holy scriptures, and taught them to their scholars. But they were not received into the divinity schools till after the making of the Talmud: for there were two sorts of schools anciently among the Jews, the schools of the Masorites, and the schools of the Rabbies. The former taught only the Hebrew language, and to read the scriptures in it; the others to understand the scriptures, and all the interpretations of them, and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the Masorites were as much inferior as the teachers of grammar schools among us are to the professors of divinity in our universities. And therefore, as long as these vowel points went no higher than the schools of these Masorites, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason

that we find no mention of them either in the Talmud, or in the writings of Origen or Jerome. But, some time after the making of the Talmud (in what year or age is uncertain,) the punctuation of the Masorites having been judged by the Jewish doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the traditionary readings of the Hebrew scriptures, as the Mishnah and Gemarah, had been then found to be for the preserving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines, of their religion, it was taken into their divinity schools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedest of their Rabbies, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from Moses and the prophets, who were the first penmen of them, ever since that time the points in the Hebrew scriptures have been by the Jews held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the Mishnah and the Gemara for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the letters themselves: for they reckon them both of divine original; only with this difference, that the letters, they say, were written by the holy penman themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the holy scriptures in unpointed copies; and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

IV. All those criticisms in the Masorah, that are upon the points, were made by such Masorites as lived after the points were received into the divinity schools of the Jews. For this profession of men continued from the time of Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue to that of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali, [q] who were two famous Masorites, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the last of them: for they having, after many years labour spent herein, each of them published a copy of the whole Hebrew text, as correct as they could make it, the eastern Jews have followed that of Ben Naphthali, and the western Jews have followed that of Ben Asher; and all that hath been done ever since, is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well

[q] Buxtorfius pater in Præfatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part 1. c. 15. Zacutus in Juchasin, Shalsheleth Haccabala, Zemach David, Elias Levita, &c.

as to the letters, without making any more corrections or Masoritical criticisms or observations upon either. These Masorites, who were the authors of the Masorah that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher than the numbering of the verses, words, and letters, of every book in the Hebrew Bible, and the marking out which was the middle verse, word, and letter, in each of them, and the making of other such poor and low observations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever Richard Simon the Frenchman may say to the contrary.

V. These vowel points having been added to the text with the best care of those who best understood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned, that this work hath been done in the perfectest manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who shall undertake a new punctuation of the whole can do it better. However, since it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the holy scriptures; and therefore these points are not so unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the style of the language, or any thing else, shall give a sufficient reason for it: and that especially, since, how exactly soever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are still liable to the mistakes of transcribers and printers, and, by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the letters, are more likely to suffer by them than any other sort of writing whatsoever.

VI. It doth not from hence follow, that the sacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed Hebrew books, as the genuine sense is in the pointed: the former indeed may sometimes be mistaken or perverted, and so may the latter; and therefore, whether the books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the case to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honestly read the same. Ignorant men may indeed mistake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but those who are knowing and honest can do neither; for, except the Bible, no other Hebrew book is pointed, unless some few of late by modern hands. All their Rabbinical authors are unpointed; and all their other books, to which the moderns have, in some editions, added points, were originally published without them, and so they still are in

the best editions; and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one, who understands the Hebrew language, can rightly read them, and rightly understand them. Were I to make my choice, I would desire to have the Bible with points and all other Hebrew books without them. I would desire the Bible with points, because they tell us how the Jews did anciently read the text. And I would have all other Hebrew books without them, because in such they rather hinder and clog the reading, than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point such books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading; as we have an instance in the pointed edition of the Mishnah, published in octavo by Manasseh Ben Israel at Amsterdam. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehensions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. Indeed, to read without vowels may look very strange to such who are conversant only with the modern European languages, in which often several consonants come together without a vowel, and several vowels without a consonant, and several of both often go to make up one syllable; and therefore, if in them the consonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word. But it is quite otherwise in the Hebrew; for in that language there is never more than one vowel in one syllable, and in most syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two; and therefore, in most words, the consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read, and, if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same consonants, which, as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words, and of different significations, and therefore, when put alone, are of an uncertain reading. But it is quite otherwise when they are joined in context with other words; for where the letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do. And this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own; for we have many equivocal words, which, being put alone, are of an uncertain signification, but are always determined in the context; as, for example, the word *let* in English, when put alone by itself, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings; for it signifies *to permit*, and it signifies also *to hinder*; but it never doth so in the con-

text, but is thereby always so determined, either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in Hebrew, as, having the same letters, are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do, when the word is put alone by itself, that the other words always do with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skilled in the Hebrew language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatsoever. And therefore, though the Hebrew Bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the church of Rome or any where else for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone, with the context, being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the language, to determine us thereto.

There is, in the [r] church of St. Dominic in Bononia, a copy of the Hebrew scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by Ezra himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the Bononians upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a sort of leather, and made up in a roll, according to the ancient manner, but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair, without any decay, both these particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But such forgeries are no uncommon things among the Papistical sect.

But, though Ezra's government over all Judah and Jerusalem expired with this year, yet his labour to serve the church of God did not here end; for still he went on as a preacher of righteousness, and a skilful scribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the scriptures, and also in bringing all things in church and state to be conform to the rules thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived; and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor; who coming to Jerusalem with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour

[r] Fini Adriani Flagellum Judæorum, lib. 9. c. 2. Tissardi Ambacei Grammat. Hebræa. Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 115, & 513.

of God, and the welfare of his people in Judah and Jerusalem, as Ezra did, he struck in heartily with him in the work; so that Ezra went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection, 49 years after it had been begun by Ezra. Whether Ezra lived so long or not is uncertain: but what he did not live to do was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor; with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK VI.

HE who succeeded Ezra in the government of Judah and Jerusalem, was [a] Nehemiah, a very religious and most excellent person; one that was nothing behind his predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge in the law of God. He came to Jerusalem in the [b] 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and, by a commission from him, suppressed that of Ezra, and succeeded him in the government of Judah and Jerusalem. And he had in that commission, by an express clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the walls and set up the gates of Jerusalem, and to fortify it again in the same manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the Babylonians. He was a Jew, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of Jerusalem; for [c] there, he saith, was the place of his fathers' sepulchres. But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was Hachaliah;

Anno 445. Artax. 20.

[a] Nehemiah ii. [b] Nehem. ii. 1. & v. 14. [c] Nehem. ii. 3.

who seemeth to have been of those Jews, who, having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own country, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of Shushan; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the king's palace: for he was one of the cup-bearers of King Artaxerxes, [d] which was a place of great honour and advantage in the Persian court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the king's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him: and that especially since the times of his attendance always were when the king was making his heart merry with the wine which he served up unto him; for this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was [e] at such a time that he asked the government of Judea, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place, no doubt, it was, that he gained those immense riches which enabled him for so many years, [f] out of his own private purse only, to live in his government, with that splendor and expence, as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen Esther, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his country, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land: yet he had a great love for Sion, and an heart thoroughly set for the advancing of the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God. And therefore, [g] when some came from Jerusalem, and told him of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burned with fire by the Babylonians, and that, by reason hereof, the remnant of the captivity that dwelt

[d] Vide Brissonum de Regno Perfixe, lib. 1. § 93.
[e] Neh. ii. 1. [f] Neh. v. 14—19. [g] Neh. i.

there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people; and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man, being suitably moved with this representation, applied himself in fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people of Israel, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And, having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the king for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto: and therefore, when his turn came next to wait in his office, the [h] king observing his countenance to be sad, which at other times used not to be so, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of his country; and, owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the king to send him thither to remedy it; and, by the favour of Queen Esther, he had his petition granted unto him: for it being particularly remarked, [i] in the sacred text, that the queen was sitting by the king, when Nehemiah obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of Jerusalem, and Nehemiah was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of Judea, to put it in execution. And, to do him the more honour, the king sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the river Euphrates, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to Asaph, the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them as should be needed for the finishing of it. However, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Samaritans, and other neighbouring nations round did all they could to hinder him from proceding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity which those people bore to the whole Jewish nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands: for, during the time that the Jews were in captivity, these nations having seized their lands, were forced [k] to restore them on their return. For

[h] Neh. ii. [i] Neh. ii. 6. [k] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement; hoping, that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity, some time or other, of resuming again the prey they had lost. But Nehemiah was not at all discouraged hereat: for having on his arrival at Jerusalem, made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and [l] immediately set about the repairing of them; dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole; in which he laboured so effectually, that all [m] was accomplished by the end of the month Elul, within the compass of 52 days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For, from within, several false prophets, and other treacherous persons, endeavoured to create him obstructions; and, from without, Sanballat the Horonite, Tobias the Ammonite, Gesbem the Arabian, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force; so that, while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready, at a signal given, to draw together to any part where the enemy should be discovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured themselves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls, and set up the gates, a public dedication of them [n] was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and Levites, and all the people.

The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo, to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made [o] many of them faint and groan under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it; to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that which was farther to be done, [p] care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in great misery lay

[l] Neh. iii. & iv.
[m] Neh. vi.
[n] Neh. xii.
[o] Neh. iv. 10.
[p] Neh. v.

under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich, taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *centisima* for all monies lent them, [q] that is, one *per cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per cent.* for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families; which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by Moses (for [r] that forbids all the race of Israel to take usury of any of their brethren, Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity: in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people; where, having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it be enacted, by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses, which had been taken of them on mortgage upon the account hereof.

And thus far Nehemiah having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the king to be sent to Jerusalem, he appointed Hanani and Hananiah to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into Persia. For a time [s] had been set him for his return again to court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission; which, as expressed in the text, plainly imports a short time, and not that of 12 years (after which [t] he again went unto the king,) as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time: for, had he still continued at Jerusalem, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place, And furthermore, the building of the walls of Jerusalem being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that country. But, on his

[q] Neh v. 11. Vide Salmasium de Feonore Trapezitico.
[r] Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.
[s] Neh. ii. 6. [t] Neh. xiii. 6.

coming to the king, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what farther was needful to be done for the well regulating of it, be soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, though the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

An. 444. Artax. 21.

Nehemiah being returned from the Persian court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the Jews, which Ezra had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did, was to provide for the security of the city, which he had now fortified, by setting rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But [u] finding Jerusalem to be but thinly inhabited, and that, to make this burden more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough repeopling of the place. In order whereto [x] he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation to agree to build them houses there, and dwell in them; and then others, following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to Jerusalem, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well secured by walls and gates against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers, who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts. So that Herodotus, who travelled through Judea, a little after this time, doth, in the description which he gives us of it, [y] compare it to Sardis, the metropolis of all the Lesser Asia, [z] as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem, mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city: for what was predicted

[u] Neh. vii. 3, 4.
[x] Neh. xi.
[y] Herodot. lib. 3. initio libri.
[z] See above under the year 610.

by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, 49 years. It must be acknowledged, that Herodotus is said [a] by Eusebius to have publicly read his history at Athens in the last year of the 83d Olympiad (that is, 445 years before Christ,) and by others [b] to have gone the next year after, which is this very year 444, of which we now treat,) with a colony of Athenians and other Greeks into Italy, to inhabit Thurium, [c] a city then newly built near the place where formerly Sibaris stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that Herodotus must, before this time, have ended his travels, which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished and publicly read at Athens the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when Eusebius saith, yet he had not completed it till at least 33 years after; for therein he makes mention of the Peloponnesian war, and of things done in it [d] in the second, and also [e] in the 19th year of that war; which last was the 33d year after that, wherein he is said by Eusebius to have publicly read that history at Athens; and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus. In the year 445 before Christ, which was the last year of the 83d Olympiad, he did read his first draught of this history at Athens, being then 39 years old, but employed all his life after further to polish and complete it, and did not put his last hand to it till after the 19th year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the 33d after his first reading it at Athens. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the colony to Thurium, that is, in the first year of the 84th Olympiad, which was [f] the 310th of the building of Rome according to the Varronian account, and [g] 12 years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. And, on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at Athens, from whence it is that he is said by Pliny there to have made this history. And, after his having continued some time at Thurium, he travelled from thence into the East, for the farther completing

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[a] In Chronico, sub Olympiade 83.

[b] Dionysius Halicarnasseus in Vita Lysiæ Oratoris. Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 656.

[c] Diod. Sic. lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78.

[d] Herodot. lib. 7.

[e] Herodot. lib. 9.

[f] Plinius, lib. 12. c. 1.

[g] Dionysius Halicarnasseus in Vita Lysiæ Oratoris.

of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing of Assyria and Babylon: but this last was never published, [h] though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it is supposed, was, that he lived not to finish it, though, by the above mentioned account, it appears he outlived the 72d year of his age, and, by [i] other particulars in his history, it seems most likely, that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in those travels which he undertook from Thurium, that he went through Judea, and there saw Jerusalem, which he calls Cadytis; for that the city, which he describes under that name, could be none other than Jerusalem, I have already shewn.

Nehemiah finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated, [k] betook himself in the next place to inquire into that matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there, either as Levites which were not of the tribe of Levi, or as priests which were not of the family of Aaron. And, therefore, for the true settling of the matter, search was made for the old registers; and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua, he settled this matter, according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in Ezra and Nehemiah; for, in the 2d chapter of Ezra, we have the old register made by Zerubbabel, and in the 7th of Nehemiah, from the 6th verse to the end of the chapter, a copy of it as settled by Nehemiah, with the alterations I have mentioned.

Ezra, having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the Chaldean character, [l] did this year, on the feast of trumpets, publicly read it to the people at Jerusalem. This feast was celebrated [m] on the first of Tisri, the seventh month of the Jews ecclesiastical

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[h] Herodot. lib. 1.

[i] Vide Usserii Annales sub anno J. P. 4306.

[k] Neh. vii. [l] Nehemiah viii.

[m] Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.

year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of Egypt having been in the month of Nisan, [n] from that time the beginning of the year, in all ecclesiastical matters, was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox); but, [o] in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and began their year from the first of Tisri, (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox,) as all other nations of the east then did (as hath been before observed,) and all instruments and writings, relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; and [p] all their jubilees and [q] sabbatical years began with it: and, therefore, it being reckoned their new-years day, they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnised by the sounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new-year, it hath from hence been called *the feast of trumpets.* For the celebrating of this feast [r] the people being assembled from all parts of the land at Jerusalem, and understanding that Ezra had finished his revisal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, Ezra ascended into it, with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people; and, having placed six of them on his right hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and, having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the Hebrew text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the Levites, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendered it period by period into Chaldee, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon, to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and un-

[n] Exod. xii. 2.
[o] Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in Rosh Hashanah.
[p] Levit. xxv. 9.
[q] Levit. xxv. 8, 9. Maimonides de Anno Sabbatico.
[r] Nehemiah viii.

derstand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and the rest that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and Ezra and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the 23d chapter of Leviticus, wherein is written the law of the feast of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which was upon them to observe this festival, and shewn them, that the 15th day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all Judah to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at Jerusalem on the said 15th day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and, as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner as had not been observed before from the days of Joshua to that time. Ezra taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner, as had been done in the two former days; and this they did, day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from Babylon,) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. Nehemiah and Ezra finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God, and the interest of religion; and therefore [a] forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held

[a] Nehemiah ix.

the next day save one after the festival was ended, that is, on the 24th day of the same month; to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a public and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant were; 1*st*, Not to make intermarriages with the Gentiles, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2*dly*, To observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3*dly*, To pay their annual tribute to the temple, for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessaries for the carrying on of the public service in it; and, 4*thly*, To pay the tithes and first-fruits to the priests and Levites. Which particulars, thus especially named in this covenant, shew unto us what were the laws of God which 'the' they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

And it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them; for the preventing hereof for the future, they, from this time, got the learnedest of the Levites, and other scribes that were best skilled in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city: which at first they did no doubt in the same manner as Ezra had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof, they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose; and this was the original of synagogues among them. That they had no synagogues before the Babylonish captivity, is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the scriptures of the Old Testament, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For, as it is a common saying among the Jews, [t] 'That, where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it: for the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was

[t] Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2.

no book of the law to be read, there certainly would be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all Judah before the Babylonish captivity, many texts of scripture tell us. When Jehosaphat sent teachers through all Judah to instruct the people in the law of God, they [u] carried a book of the law with them, which they needed not to have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a Jewish synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a Bible. And, therefore, as this proves the want of the law through all Judah in those times, so doth it also the want of Synagogues in them. And when [x] Hilkiah found the law in the temple, neither he nor King Josiah needed have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves, they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the Jews, till after the Babylonish captivity. And it is most probable, that Ezra's reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftener read among them, for their instruction in it gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and most [y] learned men are of this opinion; and [z] some of the Jews themselves say as much. Concerning these synagogues, I think it proper here to inform the reader, 1*st*, In what places they were to be erected; 2*dly*, What was the service to be performed in them; 3*dly*, What were the times of their assembling for this service; and 4*thly*, Who were their ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be

[u] 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

[x] 2 Kings xxii.

[y] Spencer de Legibus Heb. lib. i. c. 4. § 10. Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere, lib. 1. part 1. c. 9—12. Relandus in Antiq. Sacr. part 1. c. 10.

[z] Maimonides in Tephillah.

erected in every place [a] where there were 10 Batelnim, that is, 10 persons of full age, and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it: for less than 10 such, according to them, did not make a congregation, and, without such a congregation present, no part of the synagogue service could be performed; and therefore, wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of 10 such persons to be present at the service in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where 10 such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious assemblies, this they reckened a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built; but not otherwise: for I take the rule above mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to shew where a synagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption, that there would be always 10 persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on the sabbaths, because, without such a number, they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great number, in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resemble. So that in our Saviour's time there was no town in Judea, but what had one or more of them. The Jews tell us, that about that time, [b] Tiberias alone, which was a city of Galilee, had 12 of them, and Jerusalem [c] 480; but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said [d] by some of these ten Batelnim, that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them: for, were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of

[a] Megillah, c. 1. § 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. Lightfoot in his Harmony, § 17. and in his Talmudical Exercitations upon Matth. iv. 23.

[b] Berachoth, f. 8.

[c] See Lightfoot's Chorographical Century, c. 36.

[d] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 292.

the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is Lightfoot's opinion, that these ten Batelnim, were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. The service to be performed in these synagogue assemblies were prayers, reading the scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

1*st*, For their prayers, they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few; but since they are increased into a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplexed and intricate, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition and also the length of the Popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those which they call [e] Shemoneh Eshreh, *i. e. The eighteen prayers.* These, they say, were composed and instituted by Ezra and the great synagogue: and to them Rabbi Gamaliel, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the 19th, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and heretics. It is certain these prayers are very ancient; for mention is made of them [f] in the Mishnah as old settled forms; and no doubt is to be made, but that they were used in our Saviour's time, and at least most of them, [g] if not all the 18; and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the Jews, whenever he went into their synagogues, as [h] he always did every sabbath day. And from hence two things may be inferred for the consideration of our dissenters: 1*st*, That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in public worship; and, 2*dly*, That he was contented to join with the public in the meanest forms rather than separate from it. For these 18 prayers, in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in

[e] Of these see Maimonides in Tephillah.

[f] In Berachoth, c. 4. § 3.

[g] It must be acknowledged, that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the 10th, the 11th, the 14th, and the 17th: though it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancienter times.

[h] Luke iv. 16.

the same order as they are in the Jewish liturgies, adding the 19th prayer to them; which, according to the said order, is the 12th in number as here recited.

1. *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God: bountifully dispensing benefits; the Creator and possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them, for thy name's sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our Shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the Shield of Abraham.*

2. *Thou, O Lord, art powerful forever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save: thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might? And who is like unto thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.*

3. *Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day.* Selah. *For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy.*

4. *Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.*

5. *Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.*

6. *Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father; for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King; for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.*

7. *Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption, for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.*

8. *Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved; for thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.*

9. *Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land; and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years.*

10. *Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.*

11. *Restore unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King who lovest righteousness and justice.*

12. [i] *Let there be no hope to them who apostatise from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let* [k] *the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.*

13 *Upon the pious and the just, and upon* [l] *the proselytes of justice and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God; and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and forever let us not be ashamed: for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.*

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[i] This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

[k] The Roman empire.

[l] The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah; and these were called the proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts.

14. *Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.*

15. *Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.*

16. *Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence O our King; for thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou O Lord, who hearest prayer.*

17. *Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers: restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well-pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.*

18. *We will give thanks unto thee with praise: for thou art the Lord our God, the God of our Fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the Shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee.* Selah. *And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help.* Selah. *Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto thee.*

19. *Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy, unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together, as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.* Amen.

Since our Saviour spared not freely to tell the Jews of all the corruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his public service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean forms, when much better might have been made; we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither. But he having never found fault with them for using set forms, but, on the contrary, taught his own disciples a set form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the forms then in use, because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in their synagogues in the forms above recited, this may satisfy our dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversely bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our public worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in them: for they have the example of Christ in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only that can make them acceptable unto him; for it is this only that gives life and vigour, and true acceptance, to all our religious addresses unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervour and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon, from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegancy of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new jingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise, in such of them as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again, as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addresses unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we

come into the house of God to worship before him; and with this, in any form which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into indecent, and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behoves those who are for this way seriously to consider.

But, to return from whence I have digressed; [m] these nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever, either in public or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still, among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only; looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so, than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are, on every synagogue day, offered up in the solemnest manner, in all their public assemblies. But these prayers are in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours, that is, they are the fundamental and principal part: for besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their synagogue service very long. [n] Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time. Many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. The second part of their synagogue service is the reading of the scriptures, which is of three sorts; *1st*, The Kiriath Shema; *2d*, The reading of the law; and, *3d*, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken; and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. [o] It consists in the reading of three portions of scripture. The first is from the beginning of the 4th verse of the 6th chapter of Deuteronomy, to the end of the 9th verse; the second, from the beginning of the 13th verse of the 11th chapter of Deuteronomy, to the end of the 21st verse; and the third, from the beginning of the 37th verse of the 15th chapter of Numbers, to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these por-

[m] Maimonides in Tephillah.

[n] Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

[o] Maimonides in Kiriath Shema. Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere, lib. 3. part 2. c. 15.

tions in the Hebrew Bible begins with the word Shema, *i. e. hear*, they call *all* these three together the Shema, and the reading of them Kiriath Shema, that is, *The reading of the Shema.* This reading of the Shema is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious service; and is, in the same manner as that, to be performed according to their ritual every day, (that is, either publicly in their synagogue assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them,) only with this difference, that, whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age, without any exception, the reading or repeating of the Shema is only to be twice a-day, that is, morning and evening, and the males only which are of free condition, are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this Shema every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, Deut. vi. 7. "And thou shalt talk of them when thou liest down, and when thou risest up;" and also because of the like words, Deut. xi. 19. The reading or repeating of this Shema in the manner as is here related, they think, is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them; as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. The third part of the synagogue service, is the expounding of the scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain Christ taught the Jews in their synagogues both these ways. When [p] he came to Nazareth, his own city, he was called out, as a member of that synagogue, to read the Haphterah, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets which was to be read that day. And when he stood up and read it, he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the Jews in both these cases. For, out of reverence to the law and the prophets, they stood up when they did read any portion out of either, and, in regard to themselves as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did [q] every sabbath day wherever he was,) he

[p] Luke iv. 16, 17, &c. [q] Luke vi. 16.

taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so [r] St. Paul taught the Jews in their synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia; for there it is expressly said, in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. The times of their synagogue service [s] were three days a-week, besides their holidays, whether fasts or festivals; and thrice on every one of those days, that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days in every week were Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. Saturday was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the public reading of the law among them. The reason which they gave for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said, (Exod. xv. 22.) that the Israelites were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water, by water they tell us is there mystically meant the law; and therefore say, that, for this reason, they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it: and consequently, for the avoiding hereof, they have ordained, that it be publicly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as many sections or lessons, as there are weeks in the year (as hath been before shewn,) on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section: and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all

[r] Acts xiii. 15.

[s] Maimonides in Tephillah.

were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It is certain, that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice of good and religious persons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find David, and this we find Daniel did. For the former says, Psal. lv. 17. "Evening, morning, and at noon will I pray." And the latter tells us, That, notwithstanding the king's decree to the contrary, "He kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did before time." By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the Babylonish captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers; neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer; [t] so Isaiah, and so from him [u] our Saviour calls it; and to this use Solomon consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice; and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin, [x] the stationary men were present in the court of Israel, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of Israel; and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called, *The court of the women*, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any [y] public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour, [z] in the parable of the Publican and Pharisee, making

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[t] Ch. lvi. 7. [u] Mat. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

[x] See Lightfoot's Temple Service.

[y] If there were any stated forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himself without a public minister.

[z] Luke xviii. 10—13.

them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there as each making his own prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the public sacrifices were offering up both morning and evening. And [a] the offering of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without praying unto him. And hence it was, that [b] St. Luke tells us, that, while Zacharias went into the temple to burn incence, "The whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense." And for the same reason it is, that [c] David prayed, "Let my prayers be set before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." And according to this usage is to be explained what we find in the Revelation viii. 4, 5; for there it is said, "That an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it up with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hands." For the angel here mentioned, is the angel of the covenant, Christ our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and, as our Mediator, constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple: for as there, at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice, entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy-seat (the throne of God's visible presence among them, during the tabernacle and the first temple,) did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without; thereby, as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him, from out of his hands, as a sweet smelling savour in his presence; so Christ, our true priest, and most powerful intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here

[a] See Lightfoot's Temple Service, c. 9.
[b] Chap. i. 9, 10. [c] Psalm cxli. 2.

in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet-smelling savour in his presence. And it being well understood among the Jews, that the offering up of the daily sacrifices, and the burning of incense upon the altar of incense at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendering of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings and the times of their prayers, both at the temple and every where else, to be exactly the same. And therefore, as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of public devotions in them, on their synagogue days, were, as to morning and evening prayers, the same hours in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at Jerusalem, chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus [d] Peter and John are said to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice; for the Jews reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or being at Jerusalem, had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and, if it were not a syoagogue day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and, if they had leisure to go to the synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such an holy place the properest for such an holy exercise, though performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such an holy place, then they prayed wherever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market-place. And for this it was that our Saviour [e] found fault with them, when he told them, that *they loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets* thereby affecting more to be seen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chapels particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In [f] such an one Cornelius was

[d] Acts iii. 1. [e] Matth. vi. 5. [f] Acts x. 3. & 30.

praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him: and such an one [g] Peter went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve, or thereabout; for then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days; and such an one it seems hereby that was: and in such an [h] upper room were the holy apostles assembled together in prayer, when the holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. As to the ministration of the synagogue service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed, of the morning and evening sacrifices, the Levites and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and, in the conclusion, the priests blessed the people; which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done in the synagogue. But in [i] all other particulars the public synagogue service was wholly different from the public service of the temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained: and any one that by learning was qualified for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be performed in it; and these were, by imposition of hands, solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are, in the scriptures of the New Testament, [k] called Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, that is, *rulers of the synagogue*. How many of these were in every synagogue is no where said. But this is certain, they were more than one; for they are mentioned in scripture [l] in the plural number in respect of the same synagogue; and, at Corinth, [m] Crispus and Sosthenes are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue, though it is not likely that there was more than one synagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them,) was the

[g] Acts x. 9. [h] Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, book 2. tract. 1.

[i] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Judaicam, & Vitringam de Synagoga Vetere.

[k] Mark v. 35—37. Luke viii. 41. & xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15.

[l] Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15.

[m] Acts xviii. 8, 17.

minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the public prayers to God for the whole congregation, who, because he was the mouth of the congregation delegated from them as their representative, messenger, or angel, to speak to God *in* prayer for them, was therefore, in the Hebrew language, called Sheliah Zibbor, that is, *the angel of the church.* And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of Asia are, in the Revelations, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those churches. For, as the Sheliah Zibbor in the Jewish synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God; so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of Christ. The bishop indeed did not always officiate in his ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the Sheliah Zibbor always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry was the Sheliah Zibbor, that is, *the angel of the congregation*, for that time; for the proper signification of the word used in the Hebrew language for an angel is a messenger. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name of angel given to the minister of the synagogue: but it belongs to the minister of the Christian church in both senses; for he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him; but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation unto them. Next to the Sheliah Zibbor were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in Hebrew called Chazanim, that is, *overseers*, who were also fixed ministers, and, under the rulers of the synagogue, had the charge and oversight of all things in it. kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy scriptures, as also the books of their public liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth whenever they were to be used in the public service. And particularly they stood by and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and corrected them and set them right when they did read amiss,

and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour, [n] when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets in the synagogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, that, after he had done, he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the Chazan or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fixed synagogue minister for the reading of the lessons; but the rulers of the synagogue, when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order. A priest was called out first, and next a Levite, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other Israelite, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the sake of these seven readers. And, in some Hebrew Bibles, these lesser sections are marked in the margin: the first with the word Cohen, *i. e. the priest;* the second with the word Levi, *i. e. the Levite;* the third with the word Shelishi, *i. e. the third;* and so the rest with Hebrew words signifying the numbers following to the seventh; thereby to shew what part was to be read by the priest, what by the Levite, and what by each of the other five, who might be any Israelites of the congregation that were able to read the Hebrew text, of what tribe soever they were. The next fixed officer of the synagogue, after the Chazanim, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into Chaldee the lessons, as they were read in the Hebrew, to the congregation; for which, learning and skill in both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office, they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation he always did the office; but if there were no priest then present, the Sheliah Zibbor, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better understanding of the scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue worship of the Jews, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere*, and,

[n] Luke vi. 20.

above all Maimonides, especially in his tracts, Tephillah, Chagigah, and Kiriath Shema.

Those who think synagogues to have been before the Babylonish captivity, allege for it what is said in the 74th psalm, ver. 8. "They have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land." But in the original the words are *Col moadhe El*, that is, "all the assemblies of God;" by which, I acknowledge, must be understood the places where the people did assemble to worship God. But this doth not infer, that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of Aquila, that so render this passage. The chief place where the Israelites assembled for the worship of God was the temple at Jerusalem, and, before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part in both of them where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of Proseuchæ. Some of the Latin poets [p] make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and [q] to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them [r] St. Paul taught the people of Philippi. They differed from synagogues in several particulars; for, 1*st*, In synagogues the prayers were offered up in public forms in common for the whole congregation; but in the proseuchæ they prayed, as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so [s] our Saviour prayed in the proseuchæ which he went into. 2*dly*, The synagogues were covered houses; but the proseuchæ were open courts, built, saith [t] Epiphanius, in the manner of forums, which were open inclosures, where anciently at Rome, and in other

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[p] Juvenal. Sat. 3.

[q] Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, *And continued all night in prayer to God*, is, in the original, ἦν διανυκτέρευων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. e. *And he continued all night in a proseuchæ of God.*

[r] Acts xvi. For in that chapter, ver. 13, & 16. what we render in our English version by the word *prayer*, is in the original a proseuchæ, or place of prayer.

[s] Luke vi. 12. [t] In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis.

cities] under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the public: and such a proseuchæ, [u] Epiphanius tells us, the Samaritans had in his time near Shechem. *3dly*, Synagogues were all built within the cities to which they did belong; but the proseuchæ without, and mostly in high places, and that in which our Saviour prayed was [x] on a mountain, which makes it probable that these proseuchæ were the same which in the Old Testament are called *high places:* for these high places are not always condemned in scripture, but then only when they were made use of for idolatrous worship or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they [y] were made use of by prophets and good men, as several instances hereof in scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the proseuchæ had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt [z] the sanctuary of the Lord in which Joshua did set up his pillar under the oak or oaken grove in Shechem, was such a proseuchæ; and it is plain from the text that [z] it had a grove of oaks in it. And the proseuchæ which Philo makes mention of in Alexandria [a] had such groves in or about them; and that at Rome [b] in Egeria's grove was of the same sort. And perchance, where [c] the psalmist makes mention of green olive trees in the house of God, such a proseuchæ is there meant. And also such an one anciently was [d] in Mispah, as the author of the first book of the Maccabees tells us. And all these were Moadhe El, and might be understood by that phrase in the psalmist. It must be acknowledged, that, although some proseuchæ were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose as the proseuchæ were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the proseuchæ: and so Josephus and Philo seem to use the word, though it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the Jews in Alexandria

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[u] In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis.

[x] Luke vi. 12.

[y] 1 Sam. ix. 19. x. 5, &c.

[z] Joshua xxiv. 26.

[a] For he complains that the Alexandrians, in a tumult which they there made against the Jews, did cut down the trees of their proseuchæ. In Legatione ad Caium Cæsarem.

[b] Juv. Sat. 3. [c] Psal. lii. 8. [d] 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

were built after the same manner, as the ancient proseuchæ, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that, in Egypt, it never or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their public assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot country, than of roofs over them to shelter them from the weather. And these, Philo [c] complains, the Alexandrians did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the Jews that then dwelt with them in that city. And, besides these proseuchæ, there were other places to which the Israelites, before the captivity, frequently assembled, upon the account of religion; for they often resorted to the cities of the Levites, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the Mosaical law, and to the schools of the prophets for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last, it is plain from [f] scripture, that they usually resorted on the sabbaths and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the proseuchæ, were Moadhe, El, *i. e.* places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the psalmist be understood in the places above mentioned. Whether this psalm, as well as the 79th, were written prophetically by that Asaph [g] who lived in the time of David, of the Babylonish captivity (to which it is plain they both relate,) or else by some other after it, as is [h] most probable, I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of is, that nothing which is in either of these psalms can prove, that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the scriptures were read, or public prayers offered up unto God, till after the Babylonish captivity.

And if it be examined into, how it came to pass, that the Jews were so prone to idolatry, before the Babylonish captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity, they having no synagogues for public worship or public instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at Jeru-

[c] In Legatione ad Caium. [f] 2 Kings iv. 23.
[g] 1 Chron. xvi. 5. 7, 37.
[h] Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. 3. c. 29.

salem, or the cities of the Levites, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them, for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten: and therefore, as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till, at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal destruction in the Babylonish captivity: but after that captivity, and the return of the Jews from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for public worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that, from the time of Antiochus' persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were, by sermons and exhortations there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it; this kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of Moses was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of Ezra (when synagogues first came into use among them,) to the time of our Saviour; and they would have been unblamable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as [i] our Saviour chargeth them) they made the law itself of none effect. And as by this method the Jewish religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same that the Christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us: for as the Jews had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the Christians had their churches, in which, from the beginning, all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions, and, notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other methods and artifices of cruelty and oppression which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and increased under them; which Julian the apostate was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new

[i] Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than [k] to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the ministers of the gospel did the Christian religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off before he could put this design in execution, it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to Christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit: for the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state or civil government of every Christian country is no less benefited hereby than the church itself: for as it best conduceth to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself; so it may be reckoned of all methods the most conducive to preserve peace and good order in the state; for hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And, in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness, of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned, that the good order which is now maintained in this kingdom is more owing to this method than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching and daily good example, setteth more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are intrusted with: for these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no farther than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from

[k] Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianam Apostatam.

whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that, if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would, in seven years time, relapse into as bad a state of barbarity as was ever in practice among the worst of our Saxon or Danish ancestors. And therefore, supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality as that holy Christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say,) yet the service which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to those duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

Nehemiah, after he had held the government of Judah twelve years, [l] returned to the Persian court, either recalled thither by the king, or else going thither to solicit for a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great justice, [m] and supported the dignity of his office, through these whole twelve years, with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table, every day, 150 of the Jews and rulers, besides strangers who came to Jerusalem from among the Heathen nations that were round about them: for as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and spendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him every day, one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto; which could not but amount to a great expence. Yet all this he bore, through these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burdening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raised out of it by other governors to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burden, and also his vast wealth, in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches; and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his country, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in church

An. 433. Artax. 32.

[l] Nehemiah v. 14. & xiii. 6.
[m] Nehemiah. v. 14, 19.

and state; and God prospered him in the work, according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

About this time flourished [n] Meto, the famous Athenian astronomer, who invented the Enneadecæteris, or the cycle of the 19 years, which we call the cycle of the moon; the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient kalendars in golden letters from hence, in our present almanacks, that number of this cycle, which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the Christians, for the finding out of Easter, and also to the Jews for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient Greeks for the ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that Metro invented it. For the Greeks, being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals, [o] Κατὰ τρία, *i. e. according to three*; and this being interpreted to mean years, months, and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore [p] endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together, that is, to bring the same months, and all the days of them, to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that, whereas the year, according to the course of the sun (which is commonly called the solar year) is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic; and the Greeks reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, *i. e.* from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year (which is commonly called the lunar year,) this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore their oracle could not be observed

An. 432. Artax. 33.

[n] Diodor. Sic. lib. 12. p. 305. Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2.

[o] Gemin. In Isagogo, c. 6.

[p] Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, aliosque chronologos.

in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year without intercalations: for otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated 11 days every year, and, in 33 years space, would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year (as is now done in Turkey, where they use this sort of year:) and to intercalate these 11 days every year would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle as to the months and days; for then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month: and, besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year; for with them, in the same manner as with the Jews, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary, therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and, to find out such an intercalation of months as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose: for thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months and the same days of them, and constantly be made fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later, within the same times of the solar year. And, therefore, in order hereunto, cycles were to be invented; and, to find out such a cycle of years, wherein, by the intercalation or addition of one or more months, this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the Dieteris, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month: but, in two years time, the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only 22 days, and a lunar month making 29 days and an half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, overdid it by seven days and an half; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it, the Tetræteris was introduced, which was a cycle of four years. Wherein it was thought, that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights which was overdone by the like intercalation of the Dieteris. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their Olympic games: for they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth

year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year in which it was performed the Olympiad before, which regularly ought always to have been begun, according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice; and it was thought, that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years 43 days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or 29 days and an half, (of which it consists,) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days; which fault soon discovering itself, for the amending of it, they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the Octoeteris, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months, they thought they brought all to rights: and indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former cycles; for, by this intercalation, the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours, and nine minutes: and therefore this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by increasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered; which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it; of which this invented by Meto, of 19 years, is the perfectest: for it brings the two luminaries to come about to the same points within two hours, one minute, and twenty seconds; so that, after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this, no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months, by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle in which these intercalations were made, were the 3d, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th, according to Petavius; but, according to Mr. Dodwell, they were the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the Greeks being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their Olympiads being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these Olympiads being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to

settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice; and this Meto observed this year to be on the 21st day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, which reduced to the Julian year, falls on the 27th of June. And therefore the Greeks having received this cycle, did, from this time forward, celebrate their Olympiads on the first full moon after the 27th day of our June; and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding; whereas before they began it from the winter solstice: and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year, and that first full moon after the said solstice, in every 5th year, was the time of their Olympiads. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was, in their computation of time, called the first year of that Olympiad, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the 5th year after they celebrated the next Olympiad, which made the time from one Olympiad to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

But this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen Greeks after that Christianity had gotten the ascendant in the Roman empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use, and that not only by the Christians, but also by the Jews: for by it the Christians, after the council of Nice, settled our Easter; and from them, some few years after, the Jews learned to make the like use of it for the fixing the time of their passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

The [q] war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, called the Peloponnesian war, (of [r] which Thucydides and Xenophon have written the history,) began about the end of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, which lasted 27 years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties [s] sent their ambassadors to King Artaxerxes to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war. An. 431. Artax. 34.

[q] Thucydides, lib. 2.

[r] Thucydides gives an account of the first 21 years of this war, and Xenophon's Hellenics continues the Greek history from thence.

[s] Thucydides, lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 7.

About the same time, there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did over-run a great part of the world. It began first in Ethiopia; from thence it came into Lybia and Egypt; and from Egypt it invaded Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria; and from those parts it spread itself through the whole Persian empire; from whence it passed into Greece, and grievously afflicted the Athenian state, destroying a great number of their people, and among them died [t] Pericles, the chiefest and most eminent man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for 40 years together in a popular government. Thucydides hath, [u] in his history, given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it; for he had it himself, and after that, being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. Lucretius hath also given us a poetical description of it; and [x] Hippocrates hath written of it as a physician: for that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at Athens all the while this distemper raged there. Artaxerxes invited him, with the promise of great rewards, to come into Persia during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the Grecians his countrymen in this distress, to give his help to barbarians. There are several epistles still extant at the end of Hippocrates' works, said to be written by Artaxerxes, and by Hystanes his prefect on the Hellespont, and by Hippocrates himself about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond the Persians were of Greek physicians. And Artaxerxes, looking on himself as the greatest of kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But Hippocrates, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned; which provoked him so far, that he sent to Cos, the city of Hippocrates,

[t] Plutarchus in Pericle. Thucydides, lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 310.

[u] Lib. 2.

[x] Lib. 3. epidem. § 3.

and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him Hippocrates, to be punished according to his perverseness; threatening them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the Coans, in their answer, did let him know that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before Hippocrates went to Athens: for this plague had ravaged through the Persian empire before it came to that city; and it was not till the next year after this, that the Athenians were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, as Thucydides tells us.

Nehemiah, on his return to the Persian court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the king to be sent back again to Jerusalem with a new commission. The generality of chronologers, as well as the commentators upon this part of scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But, considering the many and great corruptions which he tells us, in the 13th chapter of his book, the Jews had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how, in less than five years time, they could have grown up to such an height among them. He had been 12 years reforming what was amiss among them, and Ezra had been doing the same for 13 years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner again to have unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a-doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our English version, that Nehemiah came back again from the Persian court to Jerusalem, [y] *after certain days*; but the Hebrew word *yamim*, which is there rendered *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the Hebrew scriptures so used. An. 428. Artax. 37.

About this time, most likely, lived Malachi the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the Jews with are the same with those which they had run into in the time of Nehemiah's absence; and therefore it is most probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein, before his time: for there are passages in his prophecies which

[y] Nehemiah xiii. 6.

clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the Jews with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied, is no where said in scripture; and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

Many things having gone wrong among the Jews during the absence of Nehemiah, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government, [a] he applied himself, with his usual zeal and diligence, to correct and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what, by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be resented by so good a man, was [b] a great profanation which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of Tobiah an Ammonite. This man, though he had made two alliances with the Jews, (for [c] Johanan his son had married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berachiah, [d] who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the daughter of Shecaniah the son of Arah, another great man among the Jews;) yet, being an Ammonite, [e] he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of Israel; and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct Nehemiah in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with Sanballat, their greatest enemy, to carry on this purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had [f] many correspondents among the Jews, who were favourers of him, and acted insidiously with Nehemiah on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at Jerusalem. But when he went from thence to the Persian court, Eliashib the high priest [g] was prevailed with (as being one of those that was of that confederacy and alliance with Tobiah) to allow and provide for him lodgings within the temple itself: in order whereto he removed "the meat-offer-

[a] Chap. xiii.
[b] Nehemiah xiii. 7—9.
[c] Nehemiah vi. 18.
[d] Nehemiah iii. 4.
[e] Nehemiah ii, iv, vi.
[f] Nehemiah vi. 17—19.
[g] Nehemiah xiii. 4.

ings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters,) and the offerings of the priests," out of the chambers where they used to be laid; and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this Eliashib were Eliashib the high priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high priest only; and it is not to be conceived, how any one that was less than an absolute governor of the whole temple could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, Eliashib the high priest hath no character in scripture with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of Ezra, (chap. x. 18.) it appears the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in Ezra or Nehemiah, excepting only his putting to his helping-hand in the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of Ezra or Nehemiah, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof, that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high priest being the head of the Jewish church, had he borne any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it is utterly improbable, that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they gave an account of what was done in that reformation. What Joshua his grandfather did in concurrence with Zerubbabel the governor, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets, in the first resettling of the church and state of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, [b] is all recorded in scripture; and had Eliashib done any such thing in concurrence with Ezra and Nehemiah, we may take it for certain, it would have been recorded there

[b] Ezra iii, iv, & v. Hag. i, & ii. Zech. iii.

also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely that it was Eliashib the high priest who was the author of this great profanation of the house of God. What was done herein, the text tells us, Nehemiah immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to Jerusalem, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For, over-ruling what the high priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the household stuff of Tobiah to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

The reading of the law to the people [j] having been settled by Nehemiah, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun, under his government, by Ezra, (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath day,) when, in the course of their lessons, they came to the 23d chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is commanded, that *a Moabite or an Ammonite should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, for ever*; [k] Nehemiah, taking an handle from hence, separated all the mixed multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true Israelite might lawfully marry. For neither this law nor any other of the like nature is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proselyte, and becoming a member of their church, that would be converted thereto. Neither did any of the Jews ever so interpret it: for they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and, immediately on their conversion, admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true Israelites, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase [l] in the text, *of not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation*, must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereunto till then: and thus all the Jewish doctors expound it; for their doctrine as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their nation is stated by them in manner as followeth.

[m] None of the house of Israel of either sex were to enter into marriage with any Gentiles of what nation soever, unless they were first converted to their religion, and became entire proselytes to it. And, when they were become thus thorough

[j] Neh. viii.
[k] Chap. xiii. 1, 2, 3.
[l] Deut. xxiii. 3.
[m] Maimonides in Issure Biah.

proselytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making inte. marriages with them; for some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort were all of the seven nations of the Canaanites, mentioned in Deut. vii. Of the second sort were the Moabites and the Ammonites, whose males, they hold, were excluded for ever, but not their females: for the Hebrew text naming an Ammonite and a Moabite, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the sake of Ruth; for she, though a Moabitish woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of Israel, the last of which was Boaz, of whom David was descended by her. And of the third sort [n] were the Edomites and Egyptians, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they [o] might freely make intermarriages whenever they became thorough proselytes to their religion. But at present, [p] it being not to be known, who is an Edomite, who an Ammonite, or a Moabite, or who an Egyptian of the race of the Egyptians then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date; and that now any Gentile, as soon as proselyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make intermarriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the Ammonites and Moabites in the text to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered; for there (*i. e.* Deut. xxiii. 3.) it is extended only to the tenth generation. The words are, *Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever.* The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an Ammonite or a Moabite was not to be admitted into the congregation of Israel, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming proselytes to the Jewish religion. But ten generations, and for ever, being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten genera-

[n] Deut. xxiii. 8.

[o] A sister of David's married Ithra, an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, captain of the host of Israel.

[p] Maimonides in Isure Biah.

tions, signifieth therein tantamount to for ever; and they ground this chiefly upon the text of Nehemiah, which we are now treating of. For here, in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of Nehemiah are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the original text of the law where it is to be perfectly found. And, in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the law-giver, before any quotations of them, by whomsoever made.

Among other corruptions that grew up during the absence of Nehemiah, one especially to be taken notice of [q] was the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God in such manner as it ought. For the tythes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple, in their offices and stations, being either embezzled by the high priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else subtracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the Levites and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the public worship, could not be long without taking notice of; and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy: for he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them; whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care [r] that the sabbath should be duly observed, and made many good orders for the preventing of the profanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in execution. But, though all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not done at one time; but the good man brought them about as occasions were administered, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

In this same year in which we suppose Nehemiah came back again to his government of Judea from the Persian court, that is, [s] in the first year of the 88th Olympiad, was born Plato the

[q] Nehemiah xiii. 10—14. Malachi iii. 8—13.
[r] Nehemiah xiii. 15—23.
[s] Diogenes Laertius in Vita Platonis.

famous Athenian philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens: for he having, in his travels into the East, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the Jews, and [t] gotten some insight into the writings of Moses, and their other sacred books, he learned many things from them, which others of his profession could not attain unto; and therefore he is said [u] by Numenius to be none other than Moses speaking Greek; and [x] many of the ancient fathers speak of him to the same purpose.

In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, [y] the plague broke out again at Athens, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, [z] a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of Cecrops, who was the first planter of Attica, and the founder of the city of Athens in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cause which I have mentioned; and Socrates the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then 43 years old: for he was born in the last year of the 77th Olympiad (which was the year 469 before Christ;) for to Xantipe his former wife, he took another called Myrto; and all the benefit he had by it, was to have two scolds, instead of one, to exercise his patience. [a] As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting, with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often [b] fell on him with their fists as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly. And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving countenance, by his practice, to so unnatural and mischievous an usage. For every where

An. 426. Artax. 39.

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[t] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristobulus apud Eusebium de Præparatione Evangelica.

[u] Clem. Alexandr. Storm. 1. Suidas in Νουμήνιος.

[x] Vide Menagii Observationes ad tertium Librum Diog. Laertii, segm. 6.

[y] Thucydides, lib. 3.

[z] Athenæus, lib. 13. Diog. Laert. in Socrate.

[a] Diog. Laert. ibid.

[b] Porphyrius apud Theodoretem.

more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves, that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme Lawgiver dispensed with the children of Israel in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes [c] sent an ambassador, called Artaphernes, to the Lacedemonians, with letters written in the Assyrian language; wherein, among other things, he tells them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this Persian to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should, on his return, send with him to his court some by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as Eion, on the river Strymon in Thracia, he was there taken prisoner about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens; where the Athenians treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the Persian king.

An. 425. Artax. 40.

And the next year after, as soon as the seas were safely passable, they [d] sent him back in a ship of their own at the public charges, and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as ambassadors from them to the king; but when they were landed at Ephesus, in order to this journey, they there understood that Artaxerxes was lately dead; whereon the ambassadors proceeded no farther, but, having there dismissed Artaphernes, returned again to Athens.

An. 424. Artax. 41.

Artaxerxes died within three months after the beginning of the 41st year of his reign, and was [e] succeeded in his kingdom by Xerxes, the only son that he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had 17 others, among whom were Sogdianus, (by Ctesias called Secundianus) Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bed-chamber,

[c] Thucydides, lib. 4.
[d] Thucydides, lib. 4.
[e] Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 319. & 322.

Sogdianus took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of Pharnacyas, one of Xerxes' eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him, after he had reigned only 45 days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And, as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death Bagorazus, the faithfullest of his father's eunuchs. Artaxerxes being dead, and his queen, the mother, of Xerxes, dying also the same day, Bagorazus undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corpse to the accustomed burial-place of the royal family in Persia. But, on his return, Sogdianus being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's lifetime; in revenge whereof, a little after, taking pretence from something which he had found fault with in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother Xerxes, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, least some of his brothers should serve him as he had served Xerxes, and fearing Ochus, whom his father had made governor of Hyrcania, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But Ochus perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences, from time to time delayed his coming, till at length, having got together a powerful army, he marched against him, for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother Xerxes; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of Sogdianus, revolted from him and went over to Ochus, and having put the royal tiara upon his head, declared him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself thus deserted fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with Ochus; who, having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This [f] was one of the punishments of the Persians, whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it

[f] Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see Valerine Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Exter. § 6.

is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the Maccabees to be thus. An high tower being filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was, from the top, thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes, by a wheel, continually stirred up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and 15 days.

Sogdianus being thus dispatched, Ochus obtained the kingdom; and [g] as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of Darius instead of Ochus, and is the same whom historians call Darius Nothus. He reigned 19 years, and is in Ptolemy's canon placed as the next immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the method of that canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following (as hath been already observed;) and both the reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus making but 8 months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, their reigns, in that canon, are cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

Anno 423
Dar. Nothus 1.

But it not being the usage of the Persian kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, Nehemiah, during all these revolutions in the empire continued still in his government of Judea, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights that was amiss in either of them.

Arsites, seeing how Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and Ochus, Sogdianus thought to do the same with Ochus. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother, as well as by the same father, [h] rebelled against him, and Artyphius, the son of Megabyzus, joined with him in this revolt. Ochus, now called Darius, sent against Artyphius, Artasyras one of his generals, while he with another army marched against Arsites. Artyphius vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help

Anno 422.
Dar. Nothus 2.

[g] Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 321. Ptol. Can.
[h] Ctesias.

of his Grecian mercenaries. But these being bribed over to Artasyras, he lost the third battle; and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrendered, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of Darius, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by Parysatis his queen. She was one of the daughters of Artaxerxes his father by another mother, and a very subtle crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat Artyphius with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy; and that, if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. Darius following this advice, had that success in it which was proposed: for Arsites, being informed with what clemency Artyphius was treated, thought he as a brother might be favoured much more; and therefore, coming to terms with the king, yielded himself unto him. But, when he had thus got him into his power, he cast both him and Artyphius into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. Darius was much inclined to have spared Arsites; but he was over-ruled herein by the advice of Parysatis, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, but by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death Pharnacy as the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of Xerxes; and Monasthenes, another eunuch, who was the chief confident of Sogdianus, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself, to avoid the punishment of a much severer death which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set Darius at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterwards.

The chiefest and the most dangerous of them was [1] the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being made governor of Lydia, did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the king; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which

Anno 414. Dar. Nothus 10.

[1] Ctesias.

he placed in an army of mercenary Greeks, whom he had got together into his service, under the command of Lycon an Athenian. Against him Darius sent Tissaphernes with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of Lydia in his stead. Tissaphernes, being a very crafty and insidious man, found ways to get within Pisuthnes' Grecian mercenaries, and having, with large gifts and larger promises, corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted Pisuthnes, and went over to Tissaphernes, whereby Pisuthnes being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but, as soon as he was brought to the king, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However, this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in in those parts; for [k] Amorgas his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and for about two years after infested the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, till at length being taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians at Iasus, a city of Ionia, he was delivered to Tissaphernes, and put to death.

The next disturbance which Darius had, [l] was from Artoxares, the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire; these were Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous; and next Parysatis his queen, he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did, through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority Artoxares being intoxicated, from being chief minister, he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off Darius, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and being perchance weary of an husband whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the king; whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of Parysatis, who caused him to be put to

[k] Thucydides, lib. 8. [l] Ctesias.

death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

But the greatest misfortune that befel Darius during all his reign, was the [m] revolt of Egypt, which happened in the same year with the revolt of Pisuthnes. For although Darius again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of Egypt, which was one of the best of the whole Persian empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by Ochus, as will be hereafter related. For the Egyptians being weary of the Persian yoke, Amyrtæus Saites took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of Inarus' revolt, and, being joined by the other Egyptians, soon drove the Persians out of the country, and made himself king of all Egypt, and reigned there six years.

About this time happened at Athens the condemnation of Diagoras the Melian. He having settled in that city, and there [n] taught Atheism, the Athenians prosecuted him for it. But, by flying out of that country, he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, although not the sentence. For the Athenians, having, in his absence, condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about 20 years before, [o] they had proceeded against Protagoras, another philosopher, with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books, he having written thus, (*Of the gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life.*) The Athenians would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter; but, calling in all his books by the common criers of their city, they caused them all publicly to be burned with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories forever. Both these had been the scholars of Democritus, the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For although it allows

[m] Eusebius in Chronico.

[n] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristophanes in Avibus. Hesychius Milesius.

[o] Diog. Laert. in protagora. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum. lib. 1.

the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect; for by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do, even among the heathens, for fear of punishment, the greater shame is it to us, who, in a Christian state, permit so many impious wretches to do this thing among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

Anno 413. Dar. Nothus 11.

Eliashib, the high priest of the Jews, died in the 11th year of Darius Nothus, after he had held that pontificate 40 years, and [p] was succeeded in it by Joiada, his son.

Anno. 412. Dar. Nothus 12.

At this time [q] Tissaphernes was governor of Lydia and Ionia, and [q] Pharnabazus of the Hellespont for King Darius; who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the Greeks, for the promoting of the welfare of the Persian empire. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on between the Lacedemonians and the Athenians to the 20th year. The policy practised herein by these two Persians was, sometimes to help one, and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally balanced between them, neither might, by suppressing the other, be at leisure to trouble them, who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore, at this time, the Athenians seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the Asian coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent, under the command of Lycon, for the aiding and supporting of Pisuthnes in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the Lacedemonians against them. This had been treated of with them by Tissaphernes the former year, but now was, by the consent of both governors agreed to, whereby the Persians were obliged to furnish the Lacedemonians with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the Lacedemonians, in consideration hereof, yielded, that that Persian king should have all those countries and cities which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of

[p] Neh. xii. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.
[q] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Ctesias. Thucydides, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alcibiade.

the treaty been possessed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the Lacedemonians, the concessions made in it to the king of Persia were thought too large, as including all the islands of the Egean sea, and also all those countries which Xerxes had taken possession of on this side the Hellespont; and therefore the ratification of them was denied. And by this time the Athenians wanting the balance on their side to make them bear even with their adversaries, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, upon this provocation, carried over their assistance to them; and although the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clause by limiting of it to the Asian provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the Lacedemonians; yet, by several underhand and indirect practices, they rather assisted the Athenians than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back Alcibiades again to the Athenians, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued, either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till Cyrus came to be chief governor of the Asian provinces.

Amyrtæus, having settled himself in the kingdom of Egypt, by a total expulsion of the Persians out of that country, [r] made great preparations to follow them into Phœnicia, and had the Arabians in confederacy with him for this purpose. Of which the king of Persia having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the Lacedemonians was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following. Anno 410. Dar. Nothus 14.

In the 15th year of Darius Nothus ended the first seven weeks of the 70 weeks of Daniel's prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in the 13th chapter of Nehemiah, from the 23d verse to the end of the chapter, just 49 years after it had been first begun by Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people: for although the law [s] strictly forbid them to make intermarriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking Anno 409. Dar. Nothus 15.

[r] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 335. [s] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.

their daughters to themselves; yet, since their return from the Babylonish captivity, they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It seems most likely, that, while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the East, into which they were carried captive by the Babylonians, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return. Ezra [t] found it spread among them on his first coming to Jerusalem; and, although for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet, by the time that Nehemiah came to succeed him, [u] the corruption was grown up again; and, although he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future, and, a little after his last return to his government, he had made another reformation herein, [x] by separating from Israel all the mixed multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil; but it grew up again, and [y] at length came to such an height, that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the sons of Joiada the high priest, whom [z] Josephus calls Manasseh, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see the observance of it, Nehemiah came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the country; whereon Manasseh, being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to Samaria, and many others, who, being in the same case with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the protection of Sanballat, who was the governor of the place.

It may be here objected, that I put the last reformation of Nehemiah too low, and the marriage of Manasseh too high; and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any further, to clear these two particulars.

As to the first of these, this last act of Nehemiah's reforma-

[t] Ezra ix, x.
[u] Neh. x. 30.
[x] Neh. xiii. 3.
[y] Neh. xiii. 23—31.
[z] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

tion, whereby he purged the land of such as would not be obedient to the law of God in the case of their wives, Nehemiah himself tells us, it was [a] while Joida was high priest at Jerusalem. But, according [b] to the Chronicon Alexandrinum (which gives us [c] the truest account of the succession of the high priests of the Jews, from the captivity of Babylon to the reign of the Seleucian kings,) Joiada succeeded in the high priesthood, on the death of Eliashib his father, only four years before this year in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of Joiada's high priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the 5th year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of Daniel's 70 weeks. For, by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem by a thorough reformation of both,) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is 49 years. And these 49 years beginning in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when this decree was granted to Ezra, they must end in the 15th year of Darius Nothus his son, which was the 5th year of the high priesthood of Joiada; and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of Manasseh, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it, what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion? and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, 49 years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of Daniel which I have mentioned. And from the 7th of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the 15th of Darius Nothus were just 49 years. If any one shall say, that, in the text of Nehemiah, (ch. xiii. 28.) the word high priest is put in opposition with Eliashib, and not with Joiada, and that therefore this last act of Nehemiah's reformation was in the high

[a] Neh. xiii. 28.

[b] The number of years which the Chronicum Alexandrinum ascribes to each high priest brings down the first of Joiada to that year, which is the 11th of Darius Nothus in the canon of Ptolemy.

[c] It best agreeth both with the scripture and the profane history of those times.

priesthood of Eliashib, and not in that of Joiada his son; my answer hereto is, that the Hebrew original cannot bear this interpretation: for it having been the usage of the Jews, as well as of all other nations of the East, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the Welsh, and still is among the Irish, these words in the text, Joiada Ben Eliashib, *i. e.* Joiada the son of Eliashib, all together made but one name of the same person, and therefore the word high priest, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of Manasseh too high, my answer is, that I place it where the scriptures place it, that is, in the high priesthood of Joiada. Josephus indeed placeth this marriage in the high priesthood of Jaddua, the grandson of Joiada, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of Jaddua, and the son of Johanan. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two Sanballats, the first the Sanballat of the holy scriptures, and the other the Sanballat of Josephus; and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high priests of the Jews, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different Sanballats, the first the daughter of the Sanballat of the scriptures, and the other the daughter of the Sanballat of Josephus; and that he that married the first of them was a son of Joiada, but that he that married the second of them was the son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua. But as I have shewn before that there could be but one Sanballat, and that the Sanballat of Josephus was the same with the Sanballat of the holy scriptures, but that Josephus, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of Darius Codomannus, whereas he should have placed him in the time of Darius Nothus; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high priest's son that married his daughter: for each who is said to have contracted this marriage being the son of an high priest of the Jews, each marrying the daughter of a Sanballat governor of Samaria, and each being expelled Jerusalem for it, these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The scriptures indeed give him no name; but Josephus calls him Manasseh, and therefore I call him so too. The question, therefore, being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high priesthood of Joiada and the reign of Darius Nothus, where the scriptures place it, or else in the high priest-

hood of Jaddua and the reign of Darius Codomannus, where Josephus placeth it, I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

The war being [d] carried on between the Egyptians and the Persians, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that Darius, on this occasion, came in person into Phœnicia; and that then it was that Sanballat, attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour, [e] as to obtain from him a grant to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and to make Manasseh his son-in-law high priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which Josephus, by mistaking the time, attributes to Darius Codomannus and Alexander the Great. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of Gaza at [f] which Sanballat died; for even at this time he must have been a very old man. Gaza being the common inlet between Egypt and Phœnicia, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the Egyptians, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria; and if by the Persians, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also to be a like gate for the passage of the Persian forces into Egypt. And therefore if Amyrtæus had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the king of Persia to do his utmost to recover it: for, without it, he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into Egypt to recover what he had there lost; for he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore [g] Alexander himself, after his victory at Issus, could not pass into Egypt till he had taken it.

Sanballat having built this temple, and made Manasseh high priest of it, Samaria thenceforth became [h] the common refuge and assylum of the refractory Jews; so that, if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath, or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the Samaritans and there found reception; by which means it came to pass,

[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355. [e] Josephus, lib. 13. c. 8.
[f] Josephus ibid.
[g] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 6. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 2. edit. Blancard. p. 150.
[h] Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

that, after some time, the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate Jews, and their descendants. The first of these Samaritans were the Cutheans, and such others of the eastern nations as Esarhaddon planted there after the deportation of the Israelites. But, when these apostate Jews flocked to them, they became a mongrel sort of people made up of both. But the mixing of so many Jews among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto [j] worshipped the God of Israel only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of those nations of the East from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and the book of the law of Moses was brought to Samaria, and there publicly read to them, they soon [k] left off worshipping their false gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as [l] some of the Jewish doctors acknowledge) than the Jews themselves. However, the Jews, looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so as [m] to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them. This hatred first began from the opposition which the Samaritans made against them, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much increased by this apostasy of Manasseh, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar, and a temple, in opposition to theirs at Jerusalem. And all others who at any time after fled from Jerusalem, for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the Jews had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the Jews published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people: for thereby they forbade all manner of communication with them, declared all the fruits and

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[j] 2 Kings xvii.

[k] Epiphanius Har. 9. Hottingeri Exercitat. Anti morinianæ, § 16.

[l] Maimonides in Tractatum Misnicum Berachoth, c. 8. § 8 Obadiah Bartenora in eundem Tractatum, c. 7. § 1.

[m] John iv. 9.

products of their land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drunk among them, to be as swine's flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof, and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And, in the last place, proceeded so far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse, they say, was first denounced against them by Zerubbabel and Joshua, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the Jews of Babylon, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole Jewish church. This account is given of it [n] in Pirke R. Eliezer, which is [o] reputed one of the ancientest of their books. And ever since they say, it hath been renewed, and also, by adding curse upon curse, continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by Zerubbabel and Joshua in the manner as related by R. Eliezer. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the Jews against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that, for many ages past, the conduct of the Jews towards the Samaritans hath been according to the tenor of this anathema; they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them: and so it was even in our Saviour's time; for why else should the woman of Samaria ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria?* but that it was even then forbidden among the Jews either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the Samaritans; and the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us that *the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans.* The common name by which they call these people is that of Cutheans, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him Cuthean, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest Jews or Turks; but that of Cuthean imports a much greater degree of detestation

[n] Cap. 38. et vide Animadversiones Vorstii ad locum prædictum p. 226—230. Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 599.

[o] The Jews say this book was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, but their being mention made therein of the Saracen empire, it must have been written at least 600 years after.

among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the Jews expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him, [p] *Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil;* as if to be a Samaritan, and have a devil, were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the Jews, [q] names *the foolish people that dwell in Sechem,* to be those who were chiefly so. However, the Samaritans themselves will not own their original from those eastern colonies of Esarhaddon, but claim to be descended from the sons of Joseph, and therefore call Jacob their father; and so the woman of Samaria [r] calls him in her discourse with our Saviour. But Josephus [s] tells us, they used to do this only when the Jews were in prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation; as [t] was notoriously done by them in the time of Antiochus' persecution. The particulars in which they and the Jews differ from each other in their religion are these following.

I. The Samaritans [u] receive none other scriptures than the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other books which are in the Jewish canon. And these five books they still have among them, written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character, which was in use among them before the Babylonish captivity, and in which both these and all other scriptures were written, till Ezra transcribed them into that of the Chaldeans. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the Samaritan copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that Ezra's was only a transcript; whereas in truth the Samaritan Pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that of Ezra, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of Ezra, is manifest from two reasons. For, 1*st*, It hath all the interpolations that Ezra's copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: and therefore, had

[p] John viii. 48. [q] Ecclesiast. v. 25, 26. [r] John iv. 12.
[s] Antiq. lib. 9. c. 24. & lib. 11. c. 8.
[t] Josephus. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.
[u] Hieronymus in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius. Hæres. 9. Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 38. Eutych. &c.

it been ancienter than Ezra's copy, it must have been without them. *2dly*, There are a great many variations in the Samaritan copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the Hebrew alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the Samaritan character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the Samaritan from the Hebrew, and not in transcribing the Hebrew from the Samaritan. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt, that Manasseh, when he fled to the Samaritans, first brought the law of Moses among them. Esarhaddon indeed [x] sent to his new colony, which he had planted in Samaria, an Israelitish priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of Moses among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till Manasseh came among them. For had they received the law of Moses from the first, and made that the rule of worship which they paid the God of Israel from the time of the coming of that priest among them, how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on mount Gerizim; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that, when Manasseh, and so many apostate Jews with him, came over to them, and settled in Samaria, they first brought it among them; and because the old Phœnician character was that only which the Samaritans were accustomed to, they caused this law for their sakes to be written out in that character; and in this they have retained it ever since. This Samaritan Pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers and ancient Christian writers: for it is quoted by Origen, Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Diodor of Tarsus, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius Gazæus, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a Greek translation of it then extant, which now is lost; for as there was a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures made for the use of the hellenistical Jews, which we call the Septuagint, so also was there a like Greek translation of the Samaritan scriptures (that is, the Pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the hellenistical Sa-

[x] 2 Kings xvii. 28.

maritans, especially for those of Alexandria, [y] where the Samaritans dwelt in great numbers, as well as the Jews. Origen indeed, and Jerome, understood the Hebrew language; and therefore might have consulted the Samaritan text, that being none other than Hebrew in another character. But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this Samaritan Pentateuch, but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the Septuagint that makes frequent mention of it. But this, as well as the other ancient books in which any mention of this Samaritan Pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the 6th century. From that time, for above 1000 years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and in an absolute state of oblivion among all Christians both of the West and East, and hath been no more spo' en of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when Scaliger, having got notice that there was such a Samaritan Pentateuch among those of that sect in the East, [z] made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this, [a] Archbishop Usher procured several copies of it out of the East; and not long after Sancius Harley a priest of the oratory of Paris, and afterwards bishop of St. Malo's in Britanny, [b] brought another copy into Europe, and reposited it in the library belonging to that order in Paris. From which copy Morinus, another priest of the same order, published it in the Paris Polyglot. This Sancius Harley had been ambassador from the French king, at Constantinople, where, having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return; and, having a while after entered himself among the oratorians at Paris, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch which Morinus published.

The Samaritans, besides the Pentateuch in the original He-

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[y] Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & lib. 13. c. 6.

[z] De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 7. p. 669.

[a] Walton, Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta, Lond. § 10.

[b] Morini Exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, c. 1.

brew language, have also [c] another in the language, that was vulgarly spoken among them. For, as the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, degenerated in their language from the Hebrew to the Babylonish dialect; so the Samaritans did the same. Whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the speech of those Phœnician and Syrian nations, who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manasseh, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the Hebrew language. And therefore, as the Jews for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make Chaldee versions of the scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases: so the Samaritans were forced, for the same reason, to do the same thing, and to make a version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan version. And this Samaritan version, as well as the original Samaritan text, Morinus published together in the Polyglot above mentioned. The Samaritan text he printed from Sancius Harley's copy, but the Samaritan version he had from Peter a Valle, a gentleman of Rome, who, having many years travelled over the East, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to Morinus. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from Peresceius, Dr. Comber, Dean of Carlisle, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein was afterwards rectified in the London Polyglot, in which the Samaritan text, and the Samaritan version, and the Latin translation of both, are published altogether much more complete and correct than they were before. This Samaritan version is not made like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text, word for word, for the most part, without any variation. So that Morinus thought one Latin translation might serve for both; and the London Polyglot hath followed the same method, only, where there are any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions, and transpositions, whereby

[c] Vide Waltonem & Morinum, ibid.

the Samaritan copy differs from the Hebrew, they are all enumerated in Hottinger's book against Morinus, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the London Polyglot. It is not so much to be wondered at, that there are these differences between these copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above 2000 years; for so long had passed from the apostasy of Manasseh to the time when these copies were first brought into Europe. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers; and the most that are between these two copies are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the Samaritans for the better support of their cause against the Jews; of which sort one that is notoriously such will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1*st*, The addition which we find in the 18th chapter of Exodus, where, between the 25th and 26th verses, is inserted what we have from the 9th to the 14th verse of the first of Deuteronomy inclusively: and, 2*dly*, That which we find in the 10th of Numbers, where, between the 10th and 11th verses, is inserted all that which we read in the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the first of Deuteronomy; both which insertions are wanting in the Hebrew. And, of the other sort, are what we find in the 4th chapter of Genesis, ver. 8. and in the 12th chapter of Exodus, ver. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the Hebrew text, *And Cain spake* (or said) *to Abel his brother*, the Samaritan text adds, *Let us go into the field:* and, in the latter, instead of these words in the Hebrew text, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were 430 years*, the Samaritan text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were 430 years.* Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the Hebrew copy, but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the

patriarchs before Abraham, in which the Samaritan computation comes nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the Samaritan copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered: but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light to direct us herein than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the Samaritan copy which we now have is not truly that which was anciently in use among them: for most, if not all of those passages which were quoted out of it above 1100 years since by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from or agreeing with the Hebrew text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present Samaritan copies in the same words as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now shewn at Shechem, (or Naplous, as they now call it,) the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For [d] they tell us, that therein are written these words: *I Abishua, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the high priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the 13th year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land.* But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of Rapho in Ireland, having, while chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, been at Shechem, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the Samaritans did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other scriptures besides the Pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain, [e] from the discourse of the woman of Samaria with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a Messiah that the Jews had; and this they say they could no where clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance, although they did read the Pentateuch only in their syna-

[d] Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. § 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ, § 37. Bassnage's History of the Jews, book 2. c. 2. p. 81.

[e] John iv. 25.

gogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. The second point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews anciently was, and still is, that the Samaritans reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word itself, and, in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the Jews themselves to be more exact than they are: and good reason is there for them so to say: for the Jews often make the law [f] of none effect by their traditions; whereas the Samaritans always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the Sadducees (for they also denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the law only,) hence the Jews have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees also, and [g] denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led [h] Epiphanius and [i] St. Gregory into the error of asserting this to be their opinion; whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held and as certainly believed among them as by the Jews themselves.

III. The third point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of Samaria, in the gospel of St. John, state this matter exactly right. For, in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain: but ye* (meaning the Jews) *say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.* The law given by Moses was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations [k] *in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there;* and that place was Jerusalem. For [l] there the temple, by the direction of God himself, was built, and [m] there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of Israel that adhered to the true worship of God offered up their sacrifices, and

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[f] Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.
[g] Josephus. Albo, § 31. serm. 4.
[h] Hæres. 9.
[i] Moral. in Job, lib. 1. c. 15.
[k] Deut. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c.
[l] 1 Chron. xxii.
[m] 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1—3.

there the temple was again rebuilt after the Babylonish captivity, and the same service there carried on in an unity and uniformity of worship by all of that nation, till Manasseh made the schism that hath been mentioned, and, flying to Samaria, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple: for, after he had built that temple on Mount Gerizim, and therein erected an altar in apposition to that at Jerusalem, the Samaritans and apostate Jews who revolted to them would no longer allow Jerusalem to be the place which God had chosen; but contended, that mount Gerizim was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of Samaria did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain; for they plead, that there [n] Abraham and [o] Jacob built altars unto God, and, by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship; and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill [p] of blessing, on the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt; and that accordingly Joshua, on his entering the land of Canaan, had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon, and also that, on his having passed the river Jordan, he built an altar on it of twelve stones, taken out of that river in his passage, [q] according as God had commanded by Moses: and this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain even to this day. But, to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to mount Gerizim, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text: for whereas the command of God is (Deut. xxvii. 4.) that they should set up the altar upon Mount Ebal, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the text, and, instead of Mount Ebal, have put mount Gerizim, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the Jews loudly charge them with, and the Samaritans do as loudly retort it upon them; and say, that the Jews have corrupted the text in that place, by putting mount Ebal in their copies, where it should be mount Gerizim; and bring this argument for it, that mount Gerizim having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the blessings of God, and Mount Ebal whereon to denounce his curses, the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper, for an altar of God to be built upon.

[n] Gen. xiii. 6, 7. xiii. 4.
[o] Gen. xxxii. 20.
[p] Deut. xxvii. 12.
[q] Deut. xxvii. 2—7.

But, notwithstanding this allegation in their behalf, all other copies and translations of the Pentateuch make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the 20th chapter of Exodus, where [r] after the tenth commandment, they have subjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the 11th and 27th chapters of Deuteronomy, to command the erecting of the altar in Mount Gerizim instead of Mount Ebal, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause, this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places, where, either by alterations or additions, it differs from that of the Jews.

These two mountains, called Gerizim and Ebal, are in the tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria; and in the valley between them lieth Shechem, now called Naplous, which hath been the head seat of the Samaritan sect ever since Alexander expelled them out of Samaria for the death of Andromachus. This place the Jews in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called Sichar; and therefore we have it so named in [s] St. John's gospel. It signifieth *the drunken city;* and the prophet Isaiah having called the Ephraimites (whose dwelling was in those parts [t] Sicorim, i. e. *drunkards*, they have this text on

[r] The words added by the Samaritans after the tenth commandment, in the 20th chapter of Exodus, are as followeth.—"And it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and plaster them with plaster, and thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones. Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh, which are over against Shechem.

[s] John iv. 5. [t] Isaiah xxviii. 1.

their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field [u] which Jacob bought of the children of Hamor, and gave unto Joseph his son a little before his death. Therein Joseph's bones [x] were buried when brought up out of the land of Egypt; and within the same plot of ground was the well, called Jacob's well, [y] at which our Saviour sat down, when he discoursed with the woman of Samaria. But, after all the contest that is made between the Samaritans and the Jews about these two mountains, [z] Jerome is positive, that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of the holy scriptures, but that the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of Israel, on their first passing over Jordan into the land of Canaan, were two small mountains or hills lying near Jericho, at a great distance from Shechem. And Epiphanius was of the same opinion with Jerome in this matter: and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1*st*, That the scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the river Jordan where the children of Israel passed into the land of Canaan, and near Gilgal; but Shechem is at a great distance from both: and, 2*dly*, That the mountains near Shechem, called Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, are at too great a distance from each other for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near Jericho, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of Gerizim and Ebal meant in scripture. But that hill from which Jotham the son of Gideon made his speech to the Schechemites, being [a] called Gerizim, and that certainly lying just over them, (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence,) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently proves the Mount Gerizim of the holy scriptures to be that very Mount Gerizim on which the temple of the Samaritans was built.

The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two pieces of idolatry,

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[u] Gen. xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. Joshua xxiv. 32.

[x] Joshua xxiv. 32.

[y] John iv. 6.

[z] Vide Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chron. sub. Numero 1681.

[a] Judges ix. 7.

which [b] they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain teraphim, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge they took the handle from the idolatry of the Assyrians: for that people having worshipped one of their deities (Semiramis, [c] saith Diodorus Siculus) under the image of a dove, they reproached the Samaritans as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them; and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of Israel, but never afterwards. And as to the second charge, it is true, Jacob having found out, that Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim, or idol gods, took them from her, [d] and buried them under the oak in Shechem, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain Gerizim; and, from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped God in that mountain, the Jews suggest, that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies, falsely imputed to them: for, after the time that Manasseh brought the law of Moses among them, and instructed them in it, the Samaritans became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorrers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

And with this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory Jews that would not conform to it, not only the first period of Daniel's 70 weeks, but also the holy scriptures of the Old Testament ending, I shall here also end this book; and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

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[b] Talmud in Tractatu Cholin. vide etiam Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. § 7. & Hottingeri Exercitatione. Antimorinianas, § 16, & 17.

[c] Lib. 2. p. 66, & 76.

[d] Gen. xxxv. 2—4.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK VII.

THUS far we have had the light of scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the Maccabees, Philo Judæus, Josephus, and the Greek and Latin writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us through the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of Jesus Christ. How long after this Nehemiah lived at Jerusalem is uncertain: it is most likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death; but when that happened is no where said; only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than 70 years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more governors of Judea; but that this country, being added to the prefecture of Syria, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein. Anno 408. Dar. Nothus 16.

While Darius was making war against the Egyptians and

the Arabians, the [a] Medes revolted from him; but, being vanquished in battle, they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance, and, for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to an heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

And, the next year after, Darius seems to have had as good success against the Egyptians: for Amyrtæus being dead (perchance slain in battle,) Herodotus [b] tells us, his son Pausiris succeeded him in the kingdom, by the favour of the Persians; which argues that, before they granted him this, they had reduced Egypt again under them, otherwise Pausiris could not have been made king of it by their favour.

Anno 407. Dar. Nothus 17.

Darius having thus settled his affairs in Media and Egypt, [c] sent Cyrus his younger son to be commander in chief of all the provinces of Lesser Asia, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors before placed in them. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so large an authority: for having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been now above sixteen years old. But, being the darling and best beloved son of Parysatis, who had an absolute ascendant over the old king her husband, she obtained this commission for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole Persian empire, as will be hereafter related.

On his receiving his commission, [d] he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of the Persian provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side, and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other

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[a] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodot. lib. 9. [b] Lib. 3.

[c] Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, et Lysandro. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 5. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 368.

[d] Xenoph. ibid. Diodor. Sic. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 2. Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Lysandro.

by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the Persian empire. This order of the king's for a contrary practice soon discovered the weakness of his politics. For the Lacedemonians having, by the help which Cyrus gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the Athenians, and gained an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first Thimbro, and after him, Dercylidas, and at last Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia; where they did the Persians a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the Persians, by distributing vast sums of money among the Grecian cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found means to rekindle the war again in Greece; which necessitated the Lacedemonians to recal their forces for their own defence, just when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppressing and overpowering the rest. And this instance also shews, that it is no new thing for the managers of public affairs, to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

Cyrus at Sardis, [c] having put to death two noble Persians, who were sons to a sister of Darius' for no other reason, but that they did not, on their meeting of him, wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the Persians on their meeting of the king; Darius, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the king; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But, before Cyrus did put himself upon this journey [f] he ordered such large subsidies to Lysander general of the Lacedemonians, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen

Anno. 405. Dar. Nothus 19.

[c] Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 2.

[f] Plutarchus in Lysandro. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 13.

it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Goats river in the Hellespont, whereby he absolutely overthrew the Athenian state. For, after this, they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in Asia, and, having besieged Athens itself, forced them to a surrender, on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet; which did put an end to the Athenian power, and vested the government of Greece wholly in the Lacedemonians, after they and the Athenians had contended for it in a very bitter war full 27 years. This was called the Peloponnesian war; and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by Thucydides and Xenophon, two of the best historians Greece ever had, their writings have ennobled it in the same manner as Homer's did the war of Troy.

About the time of the ending of this war [g] died Darius Nothus king of Persia, after he had reigned 19 years. Before his death Cyrus was come to him, and his mother Parysatis the queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his mal-administrations in his government, pressed hard upon the old king to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby Xerxes had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of Darius Hystaspes, that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But Darius refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to Cyrus only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to Arsaces his eldest son by the same Parysatis, who, on his ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes, and is the same to whom the Greeks, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name Mnemon, *i. e.* the rememberer. When his father lay a-dying and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which [h] he had this memorable answer given him by the dying king, *That it was by doing in all things*

[g] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Justin. lib. 5. c. 8. & c. 11. Ctesias.

[h] Athenæus, lib. 12.

that which was just both towards God and man; a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that, having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

Cyrus, [i] being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of Artaxerxes in the temple at Pasargada when he was to come thither, according to the ancient custom, to be inaugurated king, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother Parysatis was so importunate with Artaxerxes for the saving of his life, that at length, by her means he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into Lesser Asia unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him. An. 401. Artax. 1.

As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the throne, [k] Statira his queen, who, for her great beauty, was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on Udiastes for the death of her brother Teriteuchemes. The whole matter had its rise in the reign of Darius, and was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of Statira was Hidarnes, a noble Persian, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, the king's eldest son, then called Arsaces, falling in love with her, took her to wife, and Teriteuchmes her brother, about the same time, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister of Arsaces; by reason of which marriage, on the death of his father, he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named Roxana, of as great beauty as Statira, and excellently skilled in archery, and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and, that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with Hamestris, and rebel against the king. Of which wicked designs Darius having notice, engaged Udiastes, a chief confident of Teriteuchmes, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to pre-

[i] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 5. c. 11. Ctesias.

[k] Ctesias.

vent both, by cutting off Teriteuchmes. This Udiastes, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and, falling upon Teriteuchmes, slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. Mithridates, the son of Udiastes, being one of Teriteuchmes' guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it, and, in abhorrence of what was done, seized the city Zaris, and there, declaring for the son of Teriteuchmes, rebelled against the king. But Darius having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up Mithridates within his fortress, got all the family of Hidarnes, excepting the son of Teriteuchmes, whom Mithridates protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of Parysatis, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused Roxana in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death; only, at the earnest intreaty and importunate tears of Arsaces, she spared Statira his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of Darius, who told her, that she would afterwards have reason to repent of it; and so accordingly it happened. Thus this matter stood at the death of Darius: but Arsaces was no sooner settled on the throne, but Statira prevailed with him to have Udiastes delivered into her hands; whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made Mithridates, his son, for the affection which he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But Parysatis bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who, being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

Cyrus, designing a war against his brother, [1] employed Clearchus, a Lacedemonian captain, to raise an army of Greeks for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the Thracians; but they being maintained by Cyrus' money, were kept on foot for the

An. 403. Artax. 2.

[1] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

executing of those designs which he was forming against the king. Alcibiades the Athenian, [m] finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with purpose to go to the Persian court, there to make known to Artaxerxes what was brewing against him. But those who were the partizans of the Lacedemonians at Athens, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to Pharnabazus to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state: for had he got to the Persian court, he would so far have merited the favour of Artaxerxes by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt, he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his country, and, with what assistance, a person of his valour, and other great abilities would have turned the scales, and again set the Athenians as high as ever, and brought the Lacedemonians as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the Lacedemonians took the course of having him cut off in the manner as I have mentioned.

The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolting from him to Cyrus, [n] this produced war between them; and Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, went more openly to work in getting forces together; and, to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the king against Tissaphernes, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him; by which Artaxerxes being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against Tissaphernes only, and, not, being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot, sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made

An. 402. Artax. 5.

[m] Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodor. Sic. & Xenophon, ibid. Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade.

[n] Plutarchus, Xenophon, & Diodor, ibid.

themselves masters of Greece, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them; which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under Tamus, Cyrus' admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring any thing against Artaxerxes, or pretending to know at all of the designs which Cyrus was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act while the event of the war was uncertain, that, in case Artaxerxes gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

An. 401. Artax. 4. At length Cyrus, having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together, [o] he marched with them directly against his brother. He was followed in this expedition by 13,000 Greeks, under the command of Clearchus (which were the flower and main strength of his army,) and by 100,000 of other forces, raised from among the Barbarians. Artaxerxes, having notice of this from Tissaphernes, who posted to the Persian court to give him information of it prepared to meet him with a numerous army. Cyrus' greatest difficulty was to pass the Straits of Cilicia, where Siennesis, king of that country, was making ready to stop his progress; and would certainly have effected it, but that Tamus, and the Lacedemonians with their fleet, coming upon the coasts of that country, diverted him to defend his own territories; for a small guard in those narrow passes might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after Cyrus had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where Artaxerxes meeting him with an army of 900,000 men, it there came to a decissive battle between them; in which Cyrus, rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battle, was unfortunately slain, after his auxiliary Greeks had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those Greeks into a great distress; for they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the Persian empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a conquer-

[o] Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri. Diodor, Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin, lib. 5. c. 11.

ing army, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by breaking through them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemies' country, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties: for the next day after, having on consultation together, resolved to attempt their return by the way of Paphlagonia, they immediately set themselves on their march, and in spite of all oppositions from a numerous army of Persians, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of 2325 miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Grecian cities on the Euxine sea; which was the longest and most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's country. Clearchus first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, it was afterwards conducted chiefly by Xenophon, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing that they at length got safely again into Greece. The same Xenophon have written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that book being still extant, and published in the English language, I need say no more, than refer the reader to it, for a fuller history of all this matter.

[p] Psammitichus, who was descended from the ancient Psammitichus, that was king of Egypt some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this History, reigned over the Egyptians, after Pausiris. To him fled Tamus, Cyrus' admiral. For, after the death of that prince, Tisaphernes being sent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the king in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that Cyrus had,) all the governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of Cyrus, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only Tamus, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was, by birth, an Egyptian, of the city of Memphis, and, being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maratime affairs, he was first employed by Tissaphernes in the Persian fleet, and afterwards, under Cyrus became chief commander of it, and also governor of

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

Ionia; by which means, having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of Tissaphernes, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own country, much confiding in the friendship of Psammatichus, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him while he served the Persians. But the perfidious man, having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy, and having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only Gaus, one of his sons, staying behind in Asia, escaped this massacre, and afterwards became admiral of the Persian fleet in the Cyprian war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickednesses doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But Providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

Statira being very troublesome to Parysatis her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches for the countenance which she gave unto Cyrus her younger son against King Artaxerxes, to be revenged for this and other grudges formerly conceived against her, [q] she caused her to be poisoned; which was effected by this stratagem: they supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the Persians, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to Parysatis; and she having eaten it, this encouraged Statira, without any suspicion, to the other part which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife; and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much-beloved wife greatly afflicted Artaxerxes; and therefore afterwards, full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to Babylon for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to re-

[q] Ctesias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

turn to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in every thing right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing whatsoever it was that he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently shew.

Tissaphernes being settled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, [r] he began to set hard upon the Grecian cities in those parts; whereon they sent to the Lacedemonians to pray their protection against him; and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the Athenians, gladly laid hold of this occasion of ag. in breaking with the Persians and sent Thimbro into those parts with an army against them; which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which Xenophon brought back from Persia, and such others as were raised out of the Grecian cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against Tissaphernes, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that country, in which he had some few, but not great successes. An. 400. Artax. 5.

But [s] he having kept very bad discipline in his army, and permitted his soldiers to make great depradations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the Lacedemonians; whereon they sent Dercyllidas to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer, (which last he was more particularly famous for,) he managed it with better order, and much better success; and Thimbro being called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime. An. 399. Artax. 6.

Dercyllidas, after he had entered on his charge, [t] finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus both together, resolved to agree with the one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this scheme, made peace with Tissaphernes, he marched against Pharnabazus with all his forces, and took from him all Æolis

[r] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.
[s] Xenophon. et Diodorus, ibidem.
[t] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts; whereon Pharnabazus, fearing that he might invade Phrygia also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.

About [u] this time Conon, by the means of Ctesias the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, procured peace from that king for Euagores of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus. This Euagoras having expelled Abdymon the Citian out of that city, where he was governor for the Persian king, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as king of that place many years. Conon having been one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of the Goats river, as [x] soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point, made his escape with nine of the Athenian ships; and, having sent one of them to Athens, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this Euagoras, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest which he had with the said Ctesias at the Persian court, to do his friend this good office. For Ctesias being chief physician to Artaxerxes (as I have already said) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was [y] at first Physician to Cyrus his brother, and followed him to the battle in which he was slain; where, being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure Artaxerxes of the wounds received by him in that battle; in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that king, and lived with him in that quality 17 years. While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries, [z] he wrote them in 23 books. The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the time of [a] Ninus and Semiramis, to that of Cyrus; the other 17 were of the affairs of Persia, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, to the third year of the

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[u] Diodor. Sib. lib. 14. Ctesias. Theopompus in Exemptis Photii, No. 176.

[x] Xenophon. Hellenic, lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lysandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora.

[y] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sib. lib. 2. p. 84.

[z] Diodor. Sic. ibid. Photius, cod. 62. Suidas in Κτησίας.

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421.

95th Olympiad, which was coincident with the year before Christ 398, the very next immediately following after this which I now write. For here Diodorus Siculus, [b] tells us it ended. And he wrote also an history of India. Out of both these Photius hath written extracts; and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often [c] contradicts Herodotus, and in some things also differs from Xenophon. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, [d] they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet Diodorus Siculus and Trogus Pompeius take most of that from him which they have written of the Assyrian affairs: for he having professed, [e] that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registered, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such royal records then in Persia, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of Ezra and Esther [f] give us a testimony of them. And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the Persian court, he was employed by the Grecians, as their common solicitor in most of their businesses which they had there depending; and in this quality Conon made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

This year [g] the Athenians put Socrates to death for contemning their gods. He was the father of the moral philosophy of the Greeks, and a very excellent person; but finding the theology of his countrymen too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars; for which being accused, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed,

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[b] Lib. 14. p. 421.

[c] Photius, ibid.

[d] Aristotelis in Hist. Animalium, lib. 8. c. 28. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

[f] Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.

[g] Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate, & in Phædone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Stanley's History of Philosophy, part 3.

being then full 70 years old. But afterwards the Athenians repenting of it, did put all to death that had an hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

Dercyllidas, having made the truce with Pharnabazus that is above mentioned, marched into Bithynia, [h] and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from Lacedemon, to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the Grecian cities in the Thracian Chersonesus, that the isthmus of that peninsula might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the Thracian free-booters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

And therefore having, the next spring, again made a truce with Pharnabazus, [i] he marched with his army into the Chersonesus or peninsula above mentioned, and there built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven Grecian cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the Barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into Ionia, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditti, having fortified the city of Atarna against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months time before he could reduce it.

An. 398. Artax. 7.

Pharnabazus, after his second truce with Dercyllidas, [k] made a journey to the Persian court, and there accused Tissaphernes to the king, for the peace which he had made with Dercyllidas; blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joined with him, for the driving of those Grecians out of Asia, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the king's expences, and to the great damage of his affairs. This, no doubt, contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the king of that great commander of his; which being afterwards increased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruin. And at the same time consultation being had

[h] Xenophon. Hellenico. lib. 3.

[i] Xenophon. ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 147. p. 41. Justin. lib. 6. c. 1. Pausanias in Atticis. Isocrates in Euagora, et in Oratione ad Philippum.

how the mischiefs which the king suffered from this invasion of the Lacedemonians might be best remedied, Pharnabazus earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the Lacedemonians into Asia, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And Euagoras the Cyprian having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, Artaxerxes was prevailed upon, by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed; and therefore having delivered to Pharnabazus 500 talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make Conon the admiral of it. And accordingly Conon had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make ready the fleet that was to be put under his command.

Dercyllidas, after he had reduced Atarna, and set a strong garrison therein, [1] marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes had the chief seat of his residence. For the Lacedemonians being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to Dercyllidas for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his army; for Pharnabazus having joined Tissaphernes, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces to pieces. Pharnabazus was very earnest for making the assault; but Tissaphernes, having experienced the extraordinary valour of the Grecian troops that followed Cyrus to the battle of Cunaxa, dreaded all Grecians in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but, instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, of absolutely destroying them, sent heralds to Dercyllidas, to invite him to a parley; in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult

An. 397. Artax. 8.

[1] Diodorus Sic. ibid. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. 3.

their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And this Dercylliadas escaped ruin only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

One [m] Herod a Syracusian, being in Phœnicia, and seeing a great many ships there a-new building, and learning that a great many more were preparing on all the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make up a fleet for some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the Greeks, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for Greece, and hastening to Lacedemon, informed the Lacedemonians of what was a-doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, Lysander proposed to them the sending Agesilaus, who was one of their kings, into Asia, that by making a strong assault there, he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of, [n] Agesilaus was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into Asia, there to take upon him the command which Dercyllidas then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and Lysander, with several others of the principal Lacedemonians, to the number of 30 in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition. And this whole matter was dispatched with that speed and secrecy, that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field, as soon as he arrived, with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon Tissaphernes sending to him, to know for what end he came thither, Agesilaus answered, that it was to restore the Grecian cities in Asia to their liberty: hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, Tissaphernes prayed a truce, till he should send to the king, and receive his instructions what to do herein. And accordingly a truce was agreed and sworn to on both sides. But Tissaphernes having little

An 396. Artax. 9.

[m] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarch. & Corn. Nep. in Agesilao.

[n] Plutarchus in Agesilao et Lysandro. Corn. Nepos in Agesilao. Pausanius in Laconicis. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Xenophon, ibid.

regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce, than to send to the king for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to Agesilaus, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the country; at which the Lacedemonians and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of Tissaphernes, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But Agesilaus, not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bid the ambassadors who came with the message, tell Tissaphernes, that he was very much beholden to him, in that, by his perjury, he had made the gods enemies to himself, and friends to the Grecians. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but as soon as he understood that he had thereby drawn all the Persian forces into that province to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into Phrygia, a province of the government of Pharnabazus, and where he had the chief seat of his residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him; and therefore over-run a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to Dascylium, the place of Pharnabazus' usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea coast into Ionia, carried with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at Ephesus.

Nephereus succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, [o] the Lacedemonians, sent to him to solicit his aid in their war against the Persians; who thereon presented them with 100 galleys for their sea war, and 600,000 bushels of corn, for the subsistence of their forces. At this time Pharax, admiral of the Lacedemonians, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of 120 sail, who hearing at Rhodes, where he put in, that Conon was with 40 ships at Caunus, a city of Caria, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an army of Persians coming to his succour, Pharax was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to Rhodes; whereon Conon having augmented his fleet to the number of 80 sail, took the

An. 395. Artax. 10.

[o] Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438. Justin, lib. 6. c. 2. Orosius. lib. 3.

seas, and sailed to the Doric Chersonesus: but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the Rhodians; for they, being weary of the Lacedemonians, for some disorders and insolencies there committed, drove them thence, and sent for Conon to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there, the ships which were carrying Nepherus' gift of corn to the Lacedemonians, put in at Rhodes, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon Conon having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet, and also that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was reinforced with 90 other ships, which came to him from Phœnicia and Cilicia; whereby he was much superior to the Lacedemonians, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they whom the king had entrusted with the care of this matter fraudulently detained from them.

In the interim, [p] Agesilaus, coming out of his winter-quarters, prepared to invade the Persians in the strongest part of the country which they were possessed of in those parts, and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards Sardis. Tissaphernes thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for Caria, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But Agesilaus, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into Lydia, Tissaphernes hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But Caira being a very rugged country, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon the borders of that country; and, therefore, on their marching back for the relief of Lydia, the horse being much before the foot, Agesilaus took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance; and, thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the Persian camp, he became absolute master of the field, and, having thereon over-run all the country, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

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[p] Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Agesilao.

The loss of this battle [q] very much incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest; and Conon coming at this time to the Persian court, much heightened the king's displeasure, by farther accusations which he there brought against him. For the depriving the soldiers of their pay on board Conon's fleet disabling him from doing the king any service, and he having often in vain wrote to the court of it, [r] at length being encouraged thereto by Pharnabazus, and having a commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the Persian court then at Babylon, and, by the means of Tithraustes captain of the guards, so represented the matter to the king, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on Tissaphernes, this completed his ruin. For the king forthwith [s] sent Tithraustes into the maritime provinces of the Lower Asia, with orders to put Tissaphernes to death, and succeed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the king; of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the king against Cyrus her most beloved son. But this very consideration ought to have moved Artaxerxes not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without control, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild caprices, may prompt them to.

As soon as Tissaphernes was cut off, [t] Tithraustes sent to Agesilaus, that the king having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising, on this condition, to grant full liberty to the Grecian cities in Asia to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the king,

[q] Diodor. ibid. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & Agesilao. Xenophon. ibid.

[r] Cornelius Nepos in Cononc. Justin, lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.

[s] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. ibid. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7. Plutarches in Artaxerxe & Agesilao.

[t] Xenophon, ibid. Plutarchus in Agesilao.

which was all the Lacedemonians desired when they first began the war. But Agesilaus, thirsting after greater conquests, would not hearken hereto; but, to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of Lacedemon, telling him, he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of 30 talents paid him by Tithraustes, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and Agesilaus ordered his army to prepare for a march into Phrygia.

But, while he was making ready for this war, [u] a new commission came to him from Lacedemon, whereby he was made generalissimo of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in Asia, both by sea and land, put under his command, that, by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity, for the good of the state. This drew him down to the sea coast, to take care of the fleet; which having put in good order, he made Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this, it is certain, he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law, or some other by-ends of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the public good of the state: for although Pisander were a man of valour and great courage, yet he was, in other respects, no way adequate to that trust, as the event afterwards sufficiently proved.

Agesilaus, having thus settled the sea affairs, [x] pursued his designs of invading Phrygia; where having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depradations in the province, he passed on into Paphlagonia, being invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Persian, who had revolted from the king: where having made a league with Cotys, the king of that country, and married the daughter of Spithridates to him, he returned into Phrygia, and, taking the city of Dascylium, there wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, and fed his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent country.

Tithraustes, [y] seeing that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, to divert him from it, sent emissaries into Greece with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to rekindle a war in

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[u] Pausanias in Laconicis. Xenophon. & Plutarchus, ibid.

[x] Plutarchus in Agesilao. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4.

[y] Pausanias in Laconicis & Messenicis. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Agesilao & Artaxerxe.

Greece against the Lacedemonians, that so Agesilaus might be called home to defend his own country; which had that effect that Thebes, Athens, Argus, and Corinth, with other cities of Greece, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the Lacedemonians, as produced all that was intended by Tithraustes in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion, to prepare men for it.

In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus being ready to take the field, [z] a parley was procured between him and Pharnabazus; at which Pharnabazus having recited the great services which he had done the Lacedemonians in their war with the Athenians, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate, at Daseylium, that were his own proper inheritance: and all this being truths which could not be denied, Agesilaus, and his Lacedemonian council that attended him at the conferrence, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise, that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the Persian king: and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of Asia, and carrying the war into the very heart of the Persian empire. But, [a] while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition, there came messengers to him from Lacedemon, to recall him thither. For the Persian money having procured a very strong confederacy of several of the Grecian states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own country; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining, at his departure out of Asia, that

Anno 394. Artax. 11.

[z] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4.

[a] Plutarchus in Agesilao & Artaxerxe. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Justin. lib. 6. c 4.

the Persians had driven him thence by 30,000 archers, meaning so many Darics, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon them. But so small a sum did not do this job; it cost the Persians much more; and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage: for hereby they saved vastly great expences, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes who, by following the same methods, have gained the same success, and, in the way of bribery and corruption, have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

Conon, on his return from the Persian court, [b] having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took Pharnabazus on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near Cnidus, under the command of Pisander, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain Pisander himself in the fight, and taken 50 of his ships; which did put an end to the empire of the Lacedemonians in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else; for after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at Leuctra and Mantinea put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in Greece any farther than as the affairs of Greece interfere with what is the main design of this history.

After [c] this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of Asia, and took in most of the cities which the Lacedemonians had in those parts; only Sestus and Abydus, two cities in the mouth of the Hellespont, being under the command of Dercyllidas, held out against them; whereon Pharnabazus assaulted them by land, and Conon by sea; but not succeeding in the attempt, Pharnabazus, on the approach of winter, returned home, and Conon was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it with as many ships from the cities on the Hellespont as he could get from them against the next spring.

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[b] Xenophon. Hellenic lib. 4. Justin. lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Cononе. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Isocrates in Euagora, & in Oratione ad Philippum.

[c] Xenophon, Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441.

And Conon having, according to this commission, gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed, [d] Pharnabazus went on board of it, and sailing through the islands, landed on Melos, the furthest of them; and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedemonians, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and, having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got. After this Pharnabazus being on his return home into his province, [e] Conon obtained of him, to send him with 80 ships of the fleet, and 50 talents of money, to rebuild the walls of Athens, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the Lacedemonians, than by this means to put Athens again into a condition to rival their power. And therefore, being arrived at Piræus, the port of Athens, he immediately set about the work; and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of Athens, and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the Long Walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the 50 talents which he had received from Pharnabazus among his citizens; whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it. Anno 393. Artax. 12.

The Lacedemonians, being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith dispatched Antalcidas a citizen of theirs, to Tiribazus, then governor for the Persian king at Sardis, to propose terms of peace. And the confederates, on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also, and, among them, Conon was one from the city of Athens. The terms [f] which Antalcidas proposed were, that the king should have all the Grecian cities in Asia, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in Greece, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the king; and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Greeks in general,

[d] Xenophon. &. Diodor. Sic. ibid.

[e] Cornel. Nepos in Cononе. Plutarch in Agesilao. Justin. lib. 6. c. 5. Isocrates in Euagora. Xenoph. &. Diodor. ibid. Pausanias in Atticis.

[f] Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Agesilao.

none of the other ambassadors would consent to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting Conon. For the Lacedemonians bearing an implacable spite to him for what he had done in the restoration of Athens, accused him of parloining the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of Æolis and Ionia from the Persians, and subjecting them again to the Athenian state; whereon [g] Tiribazus clapped him in chains, and then, going to the Persian court to communicate to the king the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against Conon: hereon Conon being ordered to be brought to Susa, [h] was there put to death by the king's command.

While Tiribazus was attending the court, [i] Struthas was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of Asia; where, finding the great devastations which the Lacedemonians had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them as carried him wholly over to the Athenian side. Whereon the Lacedemonians sent Thimbro again into Asia to renew the war there; but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the Persians, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him Dephridas came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in Asia, after the battle of Cnidus, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power; and therefore they were forced at length to give up all there, when they could no longer hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the Grecian name.

Anno 392. Artax. 15.

And therefore Artaxerxes, being in a manner almost wholly eased of the Grecian war, [k] turned his whole power against Euagoras king of Cyprus, and began a war against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How Euagoras seized Salamine, by expelling the Persian governor, and made him-

Anno 391. Artax. 14.

[g] Xenoph. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 442. Cornel. Nepos in Conone.

[h] Cornel. Nepos, ibid. Isocrates in Panegyrico.

[i] Xenoph. ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

[k] Isocrates in Euagora. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 458.

self king of that city, and procured, by the means of Conon, to be confirmed herein by Artaxerxes, I have already given an account. But Euagoras, being a man, every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength and his power, that he made himself in a manner king of the whole island of Cyprus. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians, were those only that held out against him; and Artaxerxes, becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterwards openly embraced their cause, and declared war against Euagoras; in which Isocrates tells us he expended above 50,000 talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

The Athenians, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the Persians, and the benefits they had lately received from them, [l] would not deny their assistance to Euagoras, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception with those who fled with Conon from the battle of the Goats river had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the king, for the death of that gallant Athenian their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped 10 ships of war, and sent them to the aid of Euagoras, under the command of Philocrates. But a fleet which the Lacedemonians had at sea, under the command of Telautias the brother of Agesilaus, falling in with them in the isle of Rhodes, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the king of Persia, destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him. Anno 390. Artax. 15.

Achoris succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, [m] Euagoras drew him also and the Barceans, a people of Lybia, into confederacy with him against the Persians; and all of them engaged in conjunction together, to carry on the war with vigour against them. Anno 389. Artax. 16.

Philocrates having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to Euagoras, in manner as hath been related, the Athenians sent [n] Chabrias into the same service with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it; who arriving safe in Cyprus, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island Anno 388. Artax. 17.

[l] Xenophon, Hellenic, lib 4.
[m] Theopompus in Excerptis Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.
[n] Cornelius Nepos in Chabria. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 5.

under the power of Euagoras, before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the Athenian arms.

Anno 387. Artax. 18.

The Lacedemonians finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, because desirous of a peace with the Persian king,[o] appointed Antalcidas again to treat with Tiribazus about it; and resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their ambassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind, sent him with it into Asia to transact this matter. On his arrival at Ephesus, having appointed Nicolochus his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to Sardis, and there communicated to Tirabazus the commission on which he was sent. But Tiribazus having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the Persian court, they both went thither, where, on their arrival, the matter was soon concluded. For Artaxerxes being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the Lacedemonians, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the Cyprian war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal upon the scheme which Antalcidas offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were that all the Grecian cities in Asia, with the islands of [p] Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should be under the power of the Persian king; and that all the other cities of Greece, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of Scirus, Lemnus, and Imbrus, which having been anciently subject to the Athenians, should still continue so to be; and that Artaxerxes should join with the Lacedemonians, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of Greece submit thereto. Which peace, being ratified under the seal of King Artaxerxes, Tiribazus and Antalcidas returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of Greece. Hereby the Grecian cities in Asia, finding themselves betrayed by the Lacedemonians, were

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[o] Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 5. Plutarchus in Agesilao et Artaxerxe. Isocrates in Panathenaico. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Justin lib. 6. c. 6.

[p] The city of Clazomenæ then stood on an island, but afterwards that island was joined to the continent in the same manner as were the islands of Tyrus and Pharus. Strabo, lib. 1. p. 58.

forced to submit; and scarce any other of the Grecian states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The Athenians and Thebans, of all others, were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the Persians, now joined with the Lacedemonians their allies to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the Lacedemonians themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the Persians, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace: for hereby they engaged the Persians into an alliance with them, and, by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of Greece desist from that war which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger; but, at the same time they betrayed the common interest of Greece, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And Antalcidas at last met with his ruin from it: for the [q] Lacedemonians, after the blow they had received from the Thebans at Leuctra, needing the assistance of the Persian power to support them, and being made believe that Antalcidas could do every thing at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither to solicit for money to help to bear them up in that distress. But king Artaxerxes finding his interest no way concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in his negociation of what they expected from it, he famished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace [r] Polybius, [s] Trogus Pompeius, [t] Diodorus Siculus, and [u] Strabo, tells us, was made in the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of Antalcidas; but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name, because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all Greece.

The Athenians, on their accepting of this peace, were

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[q] Plutarches in Artaxerxe.
[r] Lib. 1.
[s] Justin, lib. 6. c. 6.
[t] Lib. 4.
[u] Lib. 6.

forced to call home Chabrias out of Cyprus; and [x] Artaxerxes, now freed of all trouble from the Greeks, bent his whole force against Euagoras king of that island. For having drawn together an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of 300 sail, he made Gaus, the son of Tamus (who hath been before spoken of) admiral of the fleet, and Orontes, one of his sons-in-law, general of the army, and Tirabazus, generalissimo, over both, and sent them to invade Cyprus: and accordingly they landed this great army on that island, for the reducing of it. Euagoras being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the Persians; and with his money of which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries out of all places wherever he could get them; which altogether made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships. These at first he sent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought provisions to the Persian army from the continent; which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied and slew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from Cilicia; whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim Euagoras received a great supply of corn from Egypt, and 50 sail of ships, which with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to 200 sail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the Persians, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the Persian army, and gained the victory, and, being flushed with this and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of their ships. But Gaus at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove Euagoras out of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. With the remainder he escaped to Salamine, where the Persians, after this victory, shut him up in

Anno 386. Artax. 19.

[x] Diodor, Sic. lib. 15.

a close siege both by sea and land; and Tiribazus went to the Persian court with the news of this success, and, having there obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, Euagoras, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got through the enemy's fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, leaving Protagoras his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was, to engage Achoris to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

But failing in the main of what he there expected, [r] he was sent back only with some supplies of money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress; and therefore being returned to Salamine, and got again into the place, by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to Tiribazus to treat of peace; but could be allowed no other terms than to be divested of all that he had in Cyprus, excepting the city of Salamine only, and to hold that of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However, considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of Salamine as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a king under a king. But Tiribazus, not consenting to this, the war went on. In the mean time Orontes, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war, and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the king, accusing him of having secret designs against the king's interest, and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the Lacedemonians, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, and admitted a treaty with Euagoras, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and, by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him, for the promoting of his hidden purposes: whereon he was taken into custody by order from the king, and sent prisoner to the court, and Orontes had the chief command conferred on him; which was the thing he desired,

Anno 385. Artax. 20.

[r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other as being the king's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct: for all his orders, through this discontent of the soldiery, were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length Orontes was forced to renew the treaty with Euagoras for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused: for he consented that he should hold Salamine of the king of Persia, as king of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with Euagoras. But this did not put an end to the war in those parts: for [z] Gaus taking ill the unjust usage of Tiribazus, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians and the Lacedemonians, and revolted from the king, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein. The Lacedemonians entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of Antalcidas. For by this time, discerning all the disadvantages of it, especially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other Greeks from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all the Grecian name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the Persians. But Gaus, the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and Tachos, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing, and after this the Lacedemonians no more meddled with the Asian affairs.

Anno 384. Artax. 21.

Artaxerxes, having thus finished the Cyprian war, [a] led an army of 300,000 foot, and 10,000 horse against the Cadusians. But the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that Tiribazus extricated him from this danger. He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led

[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

[a] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462.

with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of Orontes' accusation, and having received information, that whereas the Cadusians had two kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to Artaxerxes the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and, having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe that the other was treating separately with the king, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people [b] inhabited some part of the mountainous country which lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, to the north of Media, where [c] they, having neither seed-time nor harvest, lived mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree-fruits; the land, by reason of its ruggedness, and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the Persians into such distress when they invaded them, the country not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. Fuller [d] hath a conceit that these Cadusians were the descendants of the Israelites of the ten tribes which the kings of Assyria carried captive out of the land of Canaan; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called Cadusians, from the Hebrew word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *holy people*, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that [e] the Colchians and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision; for not far from the Colchians was the country of the Cadusians.

Artaxerxes lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was Camissares, by nation a Carian, and a very gallant man. He was governor of Leuco-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia; and was, on his death, succeeded therein by Datames, his son, who was also with Artaxerxes in this expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him.

[b] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524.
[c] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
[d] Miscell. lib. 2. c. 5.
[e] Herodot. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

He was for valour and military skill the Hannibal of those times. Cornelius Nepos hath given us his life at large; by which it appears no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the Persian court, as at last caused his ruin; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus did him in this expedition [f] procured him a fair hearing of his cause; and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the king for it, he was found innocent, and honourably discharged; and Orontes, his accuser, was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the king's favour for it.

Artaxerxes, being now freed from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the Egyptians; they having freed themselves from the yoke of the Persians, and stood out in revolt against them now full 36 years; and accordingly [g] he made great preparations for it. Achoris, foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian. Pharnabazus, having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent ambassadors to Athens, to make complaint against Chabrias for engaging in this service against the king, threatening them with the loss of the king's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary Greeks in the Persian army for this war. The Athenians, at that time much depending on the favour of the Persian king, for the supporting of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of Greece, readily complied with both these demands; for they immediately recalled Chabrias, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent Iphicrates into the Persian army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of

Anno 377. Artax. 28.

[f] Diodor. Sic. p. 463.

[g] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 471. Corn. Nepos in Chabria et Iphicrate.

war; in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth, under the name of Iphicratesian soldiers, they became as famous among the Greeks, as formerly the Fabian were among the Romans for the same reason. And they had time enough, before they entered on action, to grow up hereto, by the instruction that was given them.

For the Persians being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after ere the war commenced. In the interim died Achoris, king of Egypt, and was succeeded by [g] Psammuthis in that kingdom, who reigned only one year. Anno 376. Artax. 29.

After Psammuthis, reigned in Egypt, [h] Nepherites, the last of the Mendesian race in that kingdom: for, after a reign of four months, he was succeeded by Nectanabis, the first of the Sebennite race, who reigned twelve years. Anno 375. Artax. 30.

Artaxerxes, that he might the easier get Grecian auxiliaries for his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors into Greece, to put an end to all war there; requiring that all the different states and cities in that country should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas; and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of Greece, excepting the Thebans, who, having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only Grecian people that refused to comply herewith.

All things being now ready for the Egyptian war, [i] the Persian army was all drawn together at Ace, afterwards called Ptolemais, and now Acon, in Palestine, and were there mustered to be 200,000 Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and 20,000 Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Iphicrates; and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto; for their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, and 200 ships, besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furnish both the fleet and army with all things necessary. At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made Anno 374. Artax. 31.

[g] Euseb. in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 257.
[h] Euseb. in Chronico.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. Corn. Nepos in Iphicrate.

was upon Pelusium. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land: but the Persians having been long in preparing for this war, gave Nectanabis time enough to provide for the defence of the place; which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile; for that river then discharged itself into the Mediterranean by seven mouths (though now there are but [k] two,) each of which was guarded by a fortress and a garrison; but the Mendesian mouth not being so well fortified against them as the Pelusian, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action, Iphicrates advised that they should immediately have sailed up the Nile to Memphis, the capital of Egypt. And had they followed his advice before the Egyptians had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion, and the first success thereof, had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it, and with it all Egypt must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But Iphicrates, rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the Egyptians having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into Memphis, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the Persians, that they kept them from making any farther progress, till at length, [l] the Nile in its proper season, overflowing all the

[k] That is Damietta and Rosetta.

[l] The nature of this river is, to be six months a rising, and six months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole country, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains, which for six months together fall in the upper parts of Ethiopia, where the rise of the Nile is. These

country, forced them to withdraw again into Phœnicia, with the loss of a great part of their army. And so this expedition, in which were expended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced great dissentions between the two generals; for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon Iphicrates; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, on Pharnabazus. But Iphicrates being aware that Pharnabazus would be believed before him at the Persian court, and remembering the case of Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to Athens. Hereon Pharnabazus sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into Egypt miscarry; to which the Athenians gave only this answer, that, if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency as to this matter, that they never called him to a trial for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

That which made most of the expeditions of the Persians under this empire miscarry, was their slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court; and usually, before these could arrive, the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore Iphacrates perceiving Pharnabazus to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him, how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words, and so backward in his actions? [m] had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer, That his words were his own, but his actions wholly

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rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the Nile; which beginning to reach Egypt in the May following, do there cause this rising or increase of the Nile, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher, till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise 16 cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to 23. If it riseth no higher than 12 or 13 cubits, a famine followeth in that country.

[m] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478.

depended on his master. And many like instances may be given wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the public have been wholly lost, by too straitly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

The same year that these things were done in Egypt, [n] Euagoras, king of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, Nicocles his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of Isocrates' orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name. In the first of these is proposed the duty of a king to his subjects; in the second the duty of subjects to their kings; for which Nicocles gave him [o] 20 talents, *i. e.* 3750 pounds of our money.

The [p] next year after, which was the 32d of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Joiada the high priest of the Jews being dead, [q] Johanan his son, called also [r] Jonathan, succeeded him in his office, and held it 32 years.

Anno 375. Artax. 32.

Artaxerxes [s] again sent ambassadors into Greece, to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms, and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace, which he had made with Antalcidas. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the Thebans. That which made them at that time dissent was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of Greece should be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the Lacedemonians pressed the Thebans to set all the cities of Bœotia free, and to rebuild Platea and Thespia, two cities of that country which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And, on the other side, the Thebans, retorting upon the Lacedemonians the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of Laconia to enjoy their liberties, and restore Messena to its ancient owners: for they urged, that the articles of the peace insisted on did as much require the one as the other; and that therefore, if the Lace-

Anno 371. Artax. 34.

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[n] Aristotels Politic. lib. 5. c. 10. Theopompus in Bibliotheca Photii, No. 176.

[o] Plutarch. in Vita Isocratis.

[p] Chronicon. Alexandrin.

[q] Nehemiah xii. 22. & xiii. 28.

[r] Nehemiah xii. 11.

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 483. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 6.

demonians would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the Lacedemonians, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at Cnidus, would not understand this way of arguing, but, looking on themselves still as much superior to the Thebans, would have them submit to that which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them, to force them to it, which produced the battle at Leuctra, [t] in which the Lacedemonians were overthrown, with the loss of Cleombrotus, one of their kings, and above 4000 of their citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past: for it brought the Thebans, in pursuit of this victory, into Laconia, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of Lacedemon itself, where they had not seen an enemy in 500 years before; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

The Lacedemonians being brought to this distress, [u] sent Agesilaus into Egypt, and Antalcidas to the Persian court, to solicit for succours. But the Lacedemonians, since their overthrow at Leuctra, becoming contemptible to the Persians, Antalcidas had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related. Anno 570. Artax. 35.

However, this embassy prevailed so far with Artaxerxes, that Philiscus of Abydus [x] was by his order, the next year after, sent into Greece, to endeavour the composing of the wars, which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by Antalcidas. But the Lacedemonians refusing to consent that Messena should enjoy its liberty) to which it had been restored by the Thebans, in their late expedition into Peloponnesus, after the battle of Leuctra,) and the Thebans, refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect; only Philiscus, thinking the Thebans stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the Lacedemonians 2000 mercenaries, which he had raised with the king's money, and so returned. Anno 366. Artax. 36.

The truth of the case was, the Thebans, being elevated with

[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda et Pelopida.

[u] Plutarch. in Agesilao et Artaxerxe.

[x] Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 401.

Anno 368. Artax. 57. their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced,) aimed now at nothing less than the empire of Greece. And therefore, to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, [y] they sent Pelopidas and Ismenias, two of the eminentest of their citizens, in an embassy to King Artaxerxes, to secure him on their side. And, on the hearing of this, the Athenians sent Timagoras and Leontes, and the other cities of Greece other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion. At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the king, Asmenias, on his entrance into the presence of the king, dropped his ring, and, stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But Timagoras the Athenian, to gain the greater favour with Artaxerxes, directly without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required; for [z] which he was put to death on his return, the Athenians thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of kings. Pelopidas and Leontes would not submit to the Persian ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the king, and [a] Pelopidas, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this court, got that ascendant above all the other ambassadors, both in the king's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from [illegible] embassy; for he brought back letters from the king under [illegible] seal royal, whereby it was required, that the Lacedemo[illegible]ns should let Messena be free, and that the Athenians should recal their fleet, and that all the other cities of Greece should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the Thebans, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of Greece. For, should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the Messenians thoroughly restored, the Lacedemonians would lose one

[y] Plutarch. in Pelopida et Artaxerxe. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 7.

[z] Valerius Maximus, lib. 5. c. 3.

[a] Plutarch. in Pelopida. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 7.

half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and, should the other cities of Greece, as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the king being engaged in this case to join with them to force all to it, they thought, by this addition of strength, they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same empire over the rest of Greece, as first the Athenians, and afterwards the Lacedemonians, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars: for the cities of Greece, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the king's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms; and Artaxerxes, not being at leisure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the Grecian cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatened: and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the Thebans failed of all that they designed by it. For,

All that Artaxerxes did hereupon was [b] to send another embassy into Greece, about two years after; whereby, although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other, on the scheme proposed. Anno 366. Artax. 39.

About this time [c] a wicked fact of Johanan the high priest of the Jews brought a great oppression upon the temple at Jerusalem. For Jeshua his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of Bagoses, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia for the Persian king obtained of him a grant of the high priesthood with which Johanan had been invested several years, and came with this grant to Jerusalem, to take possession of the office, and depose his brother from it. But Johanan not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them; and, while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that Johanan slew Jeshua in the inner court of the temple; which was a very

[b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 497.
[c] Joseph. Antiq.. lib 11. c. 7.

wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendered much more so by the great profanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed. Bagoses hearing of this, came in great wrath to Jerusalem, to take an account of the fact; and when, on his going into the temple to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance (all Gentiles being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither,) he cried out with great indignation, What! am I not more pure than the dead carcase of him whom ye have slain in the temple? Whereon entering without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognisance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the public treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice the sum of 50 drachms, which is about 1*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to 36,500 drachms for the whole year, which is no more than 1140*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* of our money. But, if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more; for the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were [d] a lamb in the morning, which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice; and these in the whole year came to 730. But besides these, there were added [e] on every sabbath two lambs more; on [f] every new moon seven; on [g] each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven, besides [h] one more on the second day, when the weave sheaf was offered; on [i] the day of Pentecost, 16; on [k] the feast of trumpets seven; on [l] the great day of expiation seven; on [m] each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles, 14; and [n] on the eighth day seven. So that the additional lambs being 371; these, if reckoned to the other, make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be 1101. And therefore, if the mulct of 50 drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount

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[d] Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 3—8.
[e] Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.
[f] Numb. xxviii. 11.
[g] Numb. xxviii. 16—24.
[h] Levit. xxiii. 12.
[i] Levit. xxii. 17, 18. Numb. xxvii. 27.
[k] Numb. xxix. 2.
[l] Numb. xxix. 8.
[m] Numb. xxix. 12—34.
[n] Numb. xxix. 36.

to 55,050 drachms, which is of our money, 1720*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* But this sum being too small for a national mulct, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and, without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which Josephus makes hereof: for he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the Jews, which a payment of 1720*l.* a-year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to, Capellus [o] reckons this mulct at 60 talents. This proceeds from his laying it at 500 drachms a lamb instead of 50; which is a plain mistake of his: for the text of Josephus, in all copies, hath πεντήκοντα *fifty*, and not πεντακοσίας *five hundred*. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For, on the death of Artaxerxes, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in Syria, he that succeeded Bagoses in that province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in Greece between the Arcadians and the Elians, and that having produced another among the Arcadians themselves, [p] one party called in the Thebans to their assistance, and the other the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. Hereon the Lacedemonians set forth a great army, under the command of Agesilaus, to help that party which they favoured, and the Thebans another under the command of Epaminondas to support the other party; which produced the famous battle of Mantinea, wherein the Lacedemonians lost the victory, and the Thebans their general Epaminondas, which was the greater loss of the two; for with him all the vigour of the Theban state expired, and they never more signified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore, soon after this battle both parties, and with them all the rest of the Grecian states, came to a general peace among themselves; and the Messenians, notwithstanding what the Lacedemonians endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the king of Persia. Anno 363. Artax. 42.

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[o] Historia Sacra et Exotica sub A. M. 3639.

[p] Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 501, 502. Cornel. Nepos in Epaminonda.

While these things were doing in Greece, [q] Tachos succeeded Nectanabis in the kingdom of Egypt, and gathered together all the strength he could, to defend himself in it against the king of Persia, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

And, to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into Greece to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedemonians [r] to aid him with a good number of their forces under the command of Agesilaus; for the Lacedemonians, being angry that Artaxerxes had forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And Agesilaus, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, though it neither suited his age (which was above 80) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person, thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous king. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, Tachos promised him to make him generalissimo of all his forces. But when he was landed in Egypt, and, instead of a great and glorious king, which his great actions had represented him to be, the Egyptians found him a little old man, ill clothed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him; and Tachos would allow him no other command but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to Chabrias the Athenian the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And, when he had joined the Grecian mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into Phœnicia, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and Agesilaus was forced to attend him thither. But the old Grecian king saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that, in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in Egypt, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But Tachos contemning his advice in this particular, and slighting him in

Anno 362. Artax. 43.

[q] Cornel. Nepos et Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504.

[r] Plutarch. Cornel. Nepos. et Diodor. ibid.

most things else, this so far alienated Agesilaus from him, that when, in his absence in Phœnicia, the Egyptians revolted from him, and set up Nectanebus his kinsman to be king in his stead, Agesilaus joined with the revolters, and drove Tachos out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to Sidon, and from thence went to the Persian court. Plutarch condemns Agesilaus as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. Agesilaus' excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the Egyptians, and that therefore the Egyptians having armed against Tachos, he could not fight against them, unless he had new instructions from Lacedemon; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that Agesilaus should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his country; whereon Agesilaus going over to Nectanebus, Tachos was forced to make his flight out of Egypt, in the manner as hath been related.

And he was no sooner gone,[s] but another from among the Mendesians did set up in his stead, against Nectanebus, and got together an army of 100,000 men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus' advice to Nectanebus was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But Nectanebus mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that Agesilaus intended to betray him, as he had Tachos before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim, his adversary having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him; whereon he was forced to coop himself up, with all his forces, in one of his towns; and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. Nectanebus, seeing the danger, would then have had Agesilaus engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do; which increased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up their army in it, then Agesilaus told Nectanebus, that this was his only time to fall on; that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed; and that the gap, which was still

Anno 361. Artax. 44.

[s] Plutarch. in Agesilao. Diod. Sic. lib. 15.

left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battle; whereon an engagement ensuing, the besiegers were put to the rout, and after this Agesilaus managed the rest of the war with that success, that he every where vanquished the other king, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon, having settled Nectanebus in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the African shore, at a place called the haven of Menelaus, he there sickened and died, being full 84 years old.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances grew in the Persian court; which [t] were occasioned by the contention of his sons, in making parties among the nobility about the succession. For he had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen; the names of the latter were Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. For the stilling of these commotions, Artaxerxes declared Darius the eldest of them to be his successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of king, and wear the [u] royal tiara even in his lifetime. But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the king's concubines which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew in 50 of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by Tiribazus, whose name hath been often above mentioned. Artaxerxes had promised him one of his daughters; but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and, to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also; such abominable incest was in those times allowed in Persia, by the religion which they then professed. These two disappointments greatly discontenting Tiribazus; and provoking his resentments against the king for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being discovered, Darius was cut off in such manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him.

Anno 360. Artax. 45.

After the death of Darius, [x] the same contention was again

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[t] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

[u] This tiara was a turbant or cap with the peke upright. For the seven counsellors wore their turbant with the peke forward; all others with the peke backward, excepting the king, who wore it always with the peke upright.

[x] Ctesias & Plutarch. ibid.

revived which was in the Persian court before his being declared king; three of his surviving brothers in the same manner making parties for the succession. These were Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames; the two former being the king's sons by his queen, claimed as the lawful heirs; but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the most beloved of the three, though born to him only by one of his concubines. But the restless ambition of Ochus prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and the worst of means. For Ariaspes being an easy and credulous prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he suborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that, apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But Arsames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments, the worthiest of the throne, to remove this obstacle, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss, added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old king with grief, that, being now 94 years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was [y] a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; and therefore, being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it, which Ochus being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with him on his succeeding, (the death of his two brothers having rendered the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill affected to him,) for the avoiding of the inconveniencies which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead king, [z] to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders and sealing decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive; in one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed king through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about 10 months, thinking now his authority fully established,

Anno 359. Artax. 46.

[y] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.
[z] Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 7.

he owned his father's death, and openly ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes. But by the name of Ochus is he mostly spoken of in history.

But this artifice had not that full success which he proposed. For as soon as it was known that the old king was dead, and that Ochus had taken possession of the throne, [a] all Lesser Asia, Syria, and Phœnicia, and several other provinces of the empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him; which very much distressed him. For hereby one half of the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they continued firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, ere those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the king. The provinces of Lesser Asia, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their common head, and, having agreed on the raising of 20,000 mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the king that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And Rheomithres, another prime leader in this revolt in Lesser Asia, being sent from thence into Egypt to gain succours in that kingdom, for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery; for, on his return, with 500 talents and 50 ships of war, having called together at Leucas, a city in Lesser Asia, several of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatened the Persian empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and Ochus became settled in the throne much firmer than he deserved; for he was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in Persia, which his actions soon made appear; for he had not been long on the throne ere he filled the palace and all parts of the empire with a great number of murders. That the re-

Anno 358. Ochus 1.

[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504—506.

volted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance, [b] he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood; for he caused Ocha his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law (for he had married her daughter,) to be buried alive; and, having shut up one of his uncles, with 100 of his sons and grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of Sysigambis the mother of Darius Codomannus. For [c] Quintius Curtius tells us, that Ochus slew 80 of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill-affected towards him. Diodorus Siculus placeth this revolt in the last year of Artaxerxes; but he being a prince, whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But Ochus giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill dispositions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man, and refuse their submission to him. And he having taken the name of Artaxerxes, this might lead Diodorus into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign, which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quashed by the means I have mentioned. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having seized also Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is no where clearly expressed. But, by what is written of him by [d] Cornelius Nepos and [e] Polyænus, it appears he maintained himself in both these provinces in rebellion against the king of Persia a long while: and it was not till the time of Ochus, and some years after he

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[b] Justin. lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus. lib. 9. c. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 8.

[c] Lib. 10. c. 8.

[d] In Vita Datamis. [e] Stratagem. lib. 7.

had been king, that he was, by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his confidents at length cut off.

In the first year of the 106th Olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Persian empire, was born at Pella in Macedonia. [f] Plutarch and [g] Justin tell us, that, at the time of his birth, King Philip his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse race at the Olympic games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And [h] Arrian telling us out of Aristobulus (who accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions,) that he died in the 114th Olympiad, in the year when Hegesias was archon at Athens, (which was the first year of that Olympiad,) after having lived 32 years and eight months, these 32 years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the 114th Olympiad, and the month Dæsius, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But [i] Eusebius, and the [k] Parian chronicle, place it one year later, that is in the second year of the said 106th Olympiad. On the same day in which he was born, [l] the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was designedly burned by one Erostratus; [m] when he was put upon the rack to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that, by destroying so excellent a work, he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in after ages. Whereon the common council of Asia made a decree, that no one should ever name him; but this made him so much the more remembered; so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians that have written of those times.

Anno 356. Ochus 3.

Artabazus, governor of one of the Asian provinces, [n] being in rebellion against the king, drew Chares the Athenian to join him with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and, by his assistance, overthrew an army of 70,000 of the king's forces, which were sent to reduce him; for the reward of which service Artabazus gave unto Chares as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it.

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[f] In Vita Alexandri. [g] Lib. 12. c. 16. [h] Lib. 7.

[i] In Chronico. p. 175. [k] Marm. Oxon.

[l] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 2. & de Divinatione, lib. 1.

[m] Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, c. 40.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528.

This greatly offended the king; and the Athenians being then engaged in a war against the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the king to be revenged of them, was preparing a fleet of 300 sail to help their enemies in this war: whereon the Athenians not only recalled Chares, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that, thereby being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

Artabazus, therefore, being thus deserted by the Athenians, [o] applied himself to the Thebans; from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries, to the number of 5000 men, under the command of Pammenes, he did, by their assistance, gain two great victories over the king's forces; which redounded much to the honour of the Thebans and their general that commanded in this expedition. Anno 354. Ochus 5.

About the same time [p] happened the death of Mausolus king of Caria, which was rendered famous by the great grief which [q] Artemisia (who was both his sister and his wife,) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead husband, and in two years time pined herself to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died, she took care for the erecting of that famous [r] monument for him at Halicarnassus, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called Mausoleums.

As Artemisia succeeded Mausolus in the kingdom, so on her death, she was succeeded by [s] Idrieus her brother, who married Ada his sister, in the same manner as Mausolus had married Artemisia, it being usual for the Carian kings to marry their sisters, and for those Anno 351. Ochus 8.

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[o] Diodor. ibid.

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 529. Plin. lib. 36. c. 5, & 6.

[q] Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18.

[r] Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656. A. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. Pausanias in Arcadicis.

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.

sisters, on the death of their husbands, to succeed them in the kingdom, before their brothers or children.

The [t] Sidonians and other Phœnicians, being oppressed and ill used by those whom the king of Persia had set over them, revolted from him, and entered into confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt against him. The Persians had long waged war with Nectanebus, in order to reduce Egypt again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter Egypt but through Phœnica, the revolt of that country happened very opportune for him; and therefore, to encourage them to stand out in it, he sent Mentor the Rhodian with 4000 of the Grecian mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to made Phœnicia a barrier to Egypt, and there keep the war out of his own country. The Phœnicians, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and, by their assistance, overthrew the governors of Syria and Cilicia, two of the king's lieutenants that were sent to reduce them, and drove the Persians wholly out of Phœnicia.

The Cyprians, being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by the success of the Phœnicians to [u] revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the Egyptians in the same confederacy. Hereon Ochus dispatched his orders to [x] Idrieus king of Caria to make war upon them; who, having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with 8000 Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phocian the Athenian, and Euagoras, to invade that island; who having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces which came to them from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land. Another Euagoras had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by Nioccles his son, and [y] this Euagoras seems to have been the son of Nicocles, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his

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[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, & 533.

[u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

[x] This being a petty prince, was subject to the king of Persia, and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.

[y] Vide Isocratem in Nicocle and Euagora, & Usserii Annales ad. A. M. 3630, & 3654.

crown. And the knowledge which he had of the country, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had then [z] nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject to the king of Persia. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the Persian yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

Ochus finding his wars with the Egyptians to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, [a] resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore, having gotten together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched with them into Phœnicia. Mentor, who was then in Sidon with the Grecian mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to Ochus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with Egypt, where, through his knowledge of the country, he was enabled to do him great services. Ochus, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage Mentor in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from Ochus as he desired, engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and, by his assistance, delivered Sidon into his hands. The Sidonians, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burned all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their country. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and, setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children: and Tennes escaped not any better than the rest; for Ochus, after he had thus subdued Sidon, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also; which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his country to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet with the like fate; There were vast riches of gold and silver in Sidon when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, Ochus sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city frightening the rest of the Phœnicians,

[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.
[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, &c.

they all submitted, and made their peace with the king upon the best terms they could; and Ochus was the more willing to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon Egypt.

But, before he marched thither, [b] he was recruited with 10,000 mercenaries which were sent him out of Greece; for in the beginning of this expedition Ochus had sent thither for auxiliaries. The Athenians and the Lacedemonians excused themselves, telling the Persian ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the king, but could not send him any succours at that time. But the Thebans sent him 1000 men under the command of Lachares, and the Argives 3000 under the command of Nicostratus. The rest came from the Grecian cities of Asia, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of Sidon.

The Jews seem to have been engaged in this war of the Phœnicians against Ochus: for, [c] after he had taken Sidon, he marched into Judea, and besieged and took Jericho, and, making many of the Jews captives, he led part of them with him into Egypt, and sent a great number of others into Hyrcania, and there planted them on those parts of that country which lay on the Caspian sea.

Ochus at the same time also got rid of the Cyprian war: for having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of Egypt, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment, [d] he was content to come to a composition with the nine Cyprian kings; and therefore, having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composure, was to content Euagoras, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of Salamine; but he being convicted before Ochus of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, Protagoras was continued at Salamine, and amends was made Euagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place. But, having there run into the same misdemeanors which he had been guilty of at Salamine, he

[b] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533.

[c] Solinus, c. 35. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256. Orosius. lib. 31. c. 7. Josephus ex Hecateo, lib. 1. contra Apionem. Eusch. in Chron.

[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534.

was ejected thence also; whereon being forced to fly into Cyprus, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

Cyprus, as well as Phœnicia, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace, [c] Ochus set forward for this Egyptian expedition. In his way he lost many of his men at the lake of Serbonis. This lake lay in the entrance into Egypt from Phœnicia, of the extent of about 30 miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land; but if any went upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of Ochus' men as for want of good guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which had been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in Egypt, he planted his camp near Pelusium, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the country, setting a Grecian and a Persian in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; over the second Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes; and over the third Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs: to each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, Nectanebus having sufficient notice, from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of 100,000 men, of which 20,000 were mercenaries out of Greece, and 20,000 out of Lybia, and the rest Egyptians. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes through which the enemy was to enter into the country. The first of Ochus' detachments, under the command of Lachares, sat down before Pelusium, which was garrisoned with 5000 Grecks. While this siege was carrying on, Nicostratus, having put his detachment on board a squadron of the Persian fleet of 80 ships that attended him, sailed up, through one of the channels of the Nile, into the heart of the country, and, having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of Clinius, a Grecian of

Anno 350. Ochus 9.

[c] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534, 535.

the island of Cos, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battle between them, in which Clinius, with above 5000 of his men, being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon Nectanebus, fearing lest Nicostratus should sail up the river with his victorious forces, and take Memphis the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his country open which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the Grecians who garrisoned Pelusium heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore, coming to a parley with Lachares, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into Greece, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And Mentor, with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and, without any opposition, took in all that part of the country. For having given it out through all his camp, that Ochus had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the Sidonians, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the country; who accordingly returning to their respective cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by Ochus, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed, this so frighted the garrisons through all the country, that, in every city, both Greeks and Egyptians were at strife which of them should first yield to the invader; which Nectanebus perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself; and therefore, gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into Ethiopia, and never again returned. And this was the last Egyptian that ever reigned in this country, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers, according [f] to the prophecy of Ezekiel, which hath been already taken notice of. Ochus having thus made an absolute conquest of Egypt, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving Pherendates, one of his nobles, governor of the country. And here [g] Manetho ended his commentaries which he wrote of the Egyptian affairs. He was a priest of Heliopolis in

[f] Chap. xxix. ver. 14, 15.

[g] Syncellus, p. 256.

Egypt, and wrote, in the Greek language, an [h] history of all the several dynasties of Egypt, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and others, an epitome whereof is preserved in Syncellus. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt; for to him he dedicates his book.

The chief cause of Nectanebus' losing of his kingdom [i] was his over-confidence in himself. He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of Agesilaus, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of Diaphantus an Athenian, and Lamius a Spartan, who managing his wars, and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious against the Persians in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore, dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruined for want of it.

Ochus having thus mastered this war, and recovered Phœnicia and Egypt again to his crown, he [k] nobly rewarded the service of Mentor, the Rhodian. The other Greeks he had sent back into their country, with ample rewards, before he left Egypt: but the success of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to Mentor, he not only gave him 100 talents, with many other valuable gifts, but also made him governor of all the Asiatic coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the war which he still had with some of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts. Mentor having thus gained so great a share in the favour of Ochus, he [l] made use of it to reconcile unto him Memnon his brother, and Artabazus who had married their sister; for they had both been in war against him. Of the revolt of Artabazus, and the several victories which he had gained over the king's forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same banishment. After this recon-

Anno 349. Ochus 10.

[h] Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, c. 14.
[i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535.
[k] Idem, lib. 16. p. 537.
[l] Idem, lib. 16. p. 538.

ciliation, they both became very serviceable to Ochus, and his successors of that race, especially Memnon, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And Mentor was not wanting in answering that confidence which the king had placed in him: for, when settled in his province, he soon restored the king's authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wisely managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-established the king's affairs in all those provinces.

Anno 348. Ochus 11.

In the [m] first year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. The most eminent of his scholars was Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic philosophy. He was [n] by birth of Stagira, a small city on the river Strymon, in the northern confines of Macedonia. He was born in the first year of the 99th Olympiad (which was the year before Christ 384.) At the age of 17 he came to Athens, and became one of the scholars of Plato, and heard him till his death. Speusippus succeeding Plato in his school, Aristotle went into Asia, to Hermias the eunuch, who was king of Atarna, a city of Mysia, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length Hermias, being circumvented and drawn into a snare by Mentor the Rhodian, who commanded for Ochus in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Persian court, where he was put to death. Hereon Aristotle fled to Mitylene, and from thence went into Macedonia, and became preceptor to Alexander the Great, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to Athens, and there taught the Peripatetic philosophy in the Lyceum 12 years. But being accused of holding some notions contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a trial, for fear of Socrates' fate, he withdrew to Chalcis, a town in Eubœa, and there died about two years after, being then 63 years old. While he lived with Hermias in Asia, he [o] there fell acquainted with a Jew of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and

[m] Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnesseus in Epistola ad Ammaeum de Demosthene. Athenæus, lib. 5. c. 13.

[n] Diog. Laert. in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's Account of the Life of Aristotle, in his History of Philosophy.

[o] Joseph. cont. Appion. lib. 1.

goodness, who came thither from the upper parts of Asia upon some business which he had on those maritime coasts, and, having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This, Josephus tells us, from a book written by Clearchus, who was one of the chiefest of Aristotle's scholars. And from what he then learned from this Jew, it is most likely, proceeded what Aristobulus, [p] and out of him Clemens Alexandrinus, have observed of Aristotle's philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by Moses and the prophets in the scriptures of the Old Testament.

Ochus, after he had subdued Egypt, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure; [q] and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of whom were Bagoas his favourite eunuch, and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the Upper Asia, and the latter those of the Lower. Anno 347 Ochus 12.

Johanan, high priest of the Jews, died in the 18th year of Ochus, after he had been in that office [r] 32 years, and was succeeded [s] by Jaddua, his son, who held it 20 years. Anno 341. Ochus 18.

Ochus died after he had reigned [t] 21 years, being [u] poisoned by Bagoas the eunuch. This eunuch being an Egyptian by birth, had a love for his country, and a zeal for his country religion, and thought to have influenced Ochus in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but, not being able to over-rule the brutal ferocity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them which he deeply resented ever after. For Ochus, on his conquering of Egypt, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples (as hath been already mentioned,) but also [x] carried away all their public records (which were reposited and kept with great sacredness in their temples,) and, in contempt of their religion, slew their god Apis, that is, the sacred bull which they worshipped Anno 338. Ochus 21.

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[p] Strom. lib. 5.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537.
[r] Chronicon Alexandr.
[s] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.
[t] Can. Ptol.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.
[x] Idem in lib. 16. p. 537.

under that name. For [y] Ochus being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity, as he was for his cruelty, the Egyptians, for this reason, nick-named him the ass, which angered him so far, that he caused their Apis to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended Bagoas. The records he afterwards redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented; and it is said, that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but [z] having caused another body to be buried instead of his, he kept the true carcase, and, in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their Apis to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And, no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands, [a] made Arses, the youngest of his sons, king in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that, by thus removing all rivals, he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped: for the name of king was all that he allowed to Arses; the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself.

Anno 337. Arses 1.

Philip, king of Macedon, [b] having overthrown the Thebans and Athenians in a great battle, at Chæronea, made himself thereby in a manner lord of all Greece; and therefore, [c] calling together at Corinth an assembly of all the Grecian cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all Greece, for the carrying on of a war against the Persians, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number

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[y] Severus Sulpitius, lib. 2. Eliani Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 8. Suidas in Ὦχος.

[z] Eliani Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 8.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

[b] Plutarch. in Demosthene et Phocione. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 555. Justin. lib. 9. c. 3.

[c] Justin. lib. 9. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 577.

of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition.

And the next year after, [d] he sent Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, three of his chiefest captains, into Asia to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the Persian empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he [e] was slain at home while he was celebrating the marriage of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus. Pausanias, a young noble Macedonian, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and sodomitically abused, by Attalus, the chief of the king's confidents, he had often complained to Philip of the injury; but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It is [f] observed by Diodorus, that, in this solemnity, the images of the 12 gods and goddesses being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the 13th, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death, he was succeeded by Alexander his son, being then twenty years old. Anno 336. Arses 2.

About the same time, Arses, king of Persia, [g] was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For Bagoas, finding that Arses began to be apprised of all his villanies and treacheries, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and all his family.

After Bagoas had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, he placed on it [h] Darius, the third of that name that reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomannus; that of Darius he took afterwards, when he came to be king. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However he was of the royal seed, as descended from Darius Nothus; for that Darius had a son Anno 335. Darius 1

[d] Justin. & Diodor. ibid.
[e] Justin. lib. 9. c. 6. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558, 559.
[f] Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558.
[g] Idem. lib. 7. p. 561. [h] Idem. ibid.

called Ostanes, of whom mention is made in [h] Plutarch, and he had a son called [i] Arsanes, who marrying Sysigambis, his sister, was by her the father of Codomannus. This Ostanes [k] Ochus put to death, on his first ascending the throne, and with him above 80 of his sons and grandsons. How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is no where said. Only, it is to be observed, that in the former part of Ochus' reign, he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an [l] Astanda, that is, one of the public posts or couriers that carried the royal dispatches through the empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner as there is a post-master in England, and a chaous-bashee at Constantinople, over all the rest of that order and employment, (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear,) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which Ochus had with the Cadusians, toward the latter end of his reign, a [m] bold champion of that nation having challenged the whole Persian army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and Codomannus having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the Cadusian, for the reward of this action, he was made governor of Armenia, and from thence, after the death of Arses, by the means of Bagoas, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, ere Bagoas finding, that he was not one that would answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement,) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But [n] Darius being advised of the design, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The character given of him is, that he was for his stature and the make of his body the goodliest person in the whole Persian empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous: but having the good fortune of Alexander to encounter with, he could

[h] In Artaxerxe. [i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.
[k] Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 5.
[l] Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexandri, et in Vita ejusdem.
[m] Diodor. ibid. Justin. lib. 10. c. 3.
[n] Diodor. ibid.

not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

For Alexander soon after his father's death, [o] having called the general council of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet again at Corinth, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the Persians; and all, excepting the Lacedemonians, consented hereto. But the war which Alexander had with the Illyrians and Triballians calling him north as far as the river Danube, in his absence, the Athenians, Thebans, and some other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But Alexander, returning conqueror from his northern wars, soon brake this league: for [p] passing the straits of Thermopylæ with his victorious army, he terrified the Athenians into a submission; and several other cities, following their example, made their peace with him; only the Thebans stood out. Whereon Alexander, laying siege to their city, took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying 90,000 of the inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of 30,000 more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all Greece, as brought all to submit. So that, in a second council which he called at Corinth, he was again chosen captain-general of all Greece against the Persians, by an universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war.

Hereon Alexander returned into Macedonia, and having, by the next spring, there gotten his forces together, marched [q] with them to Sestus, and there passed the Hellespont into Asia. The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. And with so small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole Persian empire, and added India also to this acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this

Anno 334. Darius 2.

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[o] Justin. lib. 11. c. 2. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

[p] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, 567, &c.

[q] Arrian. lib. 1. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

undertaking, was, that he set out on it only with [r] 70 talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for 30 days: for the rest he wholly cast himself upon Providence, and Providence did not fail him herein: for, within a few days after, having encountered the Persian army at the river Granicus, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five times his number, which put him in possession, not only of Darius' treasure at Sardis, but also of all the provinces of Lesser Asia: for immediately all the Grecian cities in those parts declared for him, and, after that, several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year.

Before he went into winter-quarters, [s] he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the Jewish law, (Deut. xxiv. 5.) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it is most likely Aristotle learned it from the Jew he so much conversed with while in Asia, and, approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to Alexander, while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.

The next [t] year after, in the beginning of the spring, he reduced Phrygia under his obedience, and after that Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint. Anno 333. Darius 3.

In the [t] interim, Darius was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which Memnon the Rhodian then gave him, was to carry the war into Macedonia; and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in: for he would be sure there to have the Lacedemonians, and several other of the Grecian states who maligned the Macedonian power, to join with him; which would soon have brought back Alexander out of Asia, to de-

[r] At the highest reckoning, it comes to no more than 14,437l. 10s. of our money.

[s] Arrian. lib. 1.

[t] Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

fend his own country. Darius, being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making Memnon admiral of his fleet, and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition: and he could not have made a better choice; for he was the wisest man and the ablest general that Darius had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the Persian interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of Granicus; and, had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there happened would have been avoided: for his advice was, not then to have hazarded battle, but to have desolated the country through which the Macedonians were to march; and, had this been followed, Alexander would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued which opened the way to the ruin of the Persian empire. However, he did not desert Darius' interest on the misfortune of that day; but, having gathered up the remains of the Persian army, retreated with them first to Miletus, and from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly to the isle of Cos, where Darius' commission and the Persian fleet meeting him, he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto, he took in Chios and all Lesbos, except Mitylene, purposing next to pass into Eubœa, and from thence to have made Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruin of that design, and the ruin of the Persian empire was the consequence of it. For Darius having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore, having now nothing to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, [u] he drew them all together at Babylon, to the number, saith Plutarch, of 600,000 men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which Alexander hearing of, made haste through Cilicia to take possession of the straits which led from that country into Syria, purposing there to expect and fight the Persian army: for within those straits there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle array, the Macedonians could there bring

[u] Plutarch. in Alexandro Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

all their men to fight, and the Persians scarce the 20th part of theirs; and therefore, should it there come to a battle, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the Greeks, who followed Darius, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of Mesopotamia, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battle; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice: for he was made believe, that Alexander was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him, while entangled in those straits, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew Darius to fight in those straits, where, being able to extend his front no longer than the Macedonians, by reason of the mountains which inclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole Persian army into disorder; and the Macedonians pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout; and the crowd which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through these narrow passes being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men as they pressed to escape. Darius, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight; but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children (which, according to the usage of the Persian kings, were carried with him in the campaign,) fell into the enemy's hands, and above 100,000 Persians were left dead upon the field of battle. This battle was fought at Issus in Cilicia, towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our November; and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of Alexander was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all Syria to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was Damascus. Thither Darius, before the battle, had sent his treasure and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All these, with the

town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of Darius, betrayed unto Alexander, and Parmenio was sent to take possession of the place; where, besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found 329 of Darius' concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives or daughters of the principal nobility of Persia, whom he made all captives. And among them was Barsena, the widow of Memnon, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of Alexander, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and, taking her into his bed, had a son by her, called Hercules, who, at the age of 17, being called for by the Macedonians to be their king, was murdered by the treachery of Cassander and Polysperchon, to prevent it.

While Parmenio took in Damascus and Cœle-Syria, [x] Alexander marched with the main of his army along the sea coasts towards Phœnicia. As he advanced, all yielded to him, and none more readily than the Sidonians. Eighteen years before, Ochus had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into Persia, those who, by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned and again built their city. But ever after detesting the Persians for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to Alexander on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to Tyre, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the Tyrians sent ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army: but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as a master, when he would have entered their city, they denied him admittance; which Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they, on the other hand, resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution, was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it, upon the brink of the sea, of 150 feet in height; and the Carthaginians, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them

[x] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 2. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 8. Justin. lib. 11.

succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave Alexander no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it: for the city being so situated (as I have said,) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

And therefore having resolved at any rate to take that city, he resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished, with unwearied labour, in seven months time, and, by means thereof, at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have conduced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success every where else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and, by assiduous application, at last carried his point. To make this bank or causey, the town of Old Tyre, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish, (for he pulled it all down for this purpose,) and Mount Libanus, which is so famous in scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank or causey [y] is there still remaining even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile; whereby what was formerly an island at that distance from the shore was thenceforth made a peninsula, and so it hath ever since continued.

Anno 332. Darius 4.

The Carthaginians having troubles at home, the Tyrians could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore, when Alexander sent to them ambassadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to Carthage. They had in their city a brazen statue or colossus of Apollo, of a great height. This formerly belonged to the city of Gela in Sicily: [z] the Carthaginians having taken Gela, in the year 405, sent it to Tyre, their mother city, where it was set up and worshipped by the Tyrians. During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had

[y] See Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48—50.
[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 390.

to this purpose, that Apollo was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander, for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destinated them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of Tyre by Isaiah, chap. xxiii. and by Ezekiel, chap. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii. was in part verified in the destruction of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For Nebuchadnezzar's devastation reached no farther than Old Tyre; those who were in the island escaped that ruin. But the desolation of both is plainly threatened in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island as well as that which was on the continent; and this Alexander only effected. Old Tyre he wholly demolished to make his causey to the new: by the means of which having taken that new town, he burned it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the inhabitants: 8000 he slew in the sackage of the town, and 2000 of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to Carthage escaped this ruin, and [a] great numbers were saved by the Sidonians, and secretly conveyed away in their ships, on the taking of the place; all the rest, to the number of 30,000, were sold for slaves. The cruelty to the 2000 who were crucified was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This Alexander did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted; but afterwards, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them, for their murdering their masters, and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story; for [b] some ages before, the slaves of Tyre, having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (save only Strato, whom his slave secretly saved,) and, marrying their mistresses, continued masters of the town; and from them the present Tyrians being descended, Alexander pretended thus to revenge on them the

[a] The number of those who were thus saved, Curtius tells us, were 15,000.

[b] Justin. lib. 18. c. 3.

murder committed by their progenitors some ages before; and, to make it look the more plausible, he saved all of the family of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt, and, among them, Azelmelic their king, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again repeopled the place: for, having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.

On his taking this city, he unchained Apollo, rendered thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to Hercules, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days, and then marched towards Jerusalem.

For the Tyrians, being wholly given to merchandise, and neglecting husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours; and [c] Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished, Alexander, when he sat down before Tyre, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters; and therefore sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The Jews [d] pleaded their oath to Darius; by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, so long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly angered Alexander, who, in the flush of his late victories, thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore, as soon as he had done with Tyre, he marched against Jerusalem, with intention to punish the Jews as severely as he had the Tyrians, for not obeying his commands. In this distress, Jaddua the high priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the Persians, being in great perplexity, and all Jerusalem with him, they had no other course to take, but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore, in order hereto, they made their devout addresses unto him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God, being moved to compassion towards them, directed Jaddua, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. Jaddua, in obedience hereto, the

[c] Acts xii. 20. [d] Josephus, lib. 11. c. 8.

next day went forth in the manner directed, with the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advanced to a place called [c] Sapha (an eminence without Jerusalem, which commanded a prospect of all the country round, as well as of the city and temple of Jerusalem,) there waited the coming of Alexander, and, on his approach, met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the king saw the high priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and, hastening forward, bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him, especially of the Syrians and Phœnicians, who expected nothing less than that Alexander should have destroyed this people as he had the Tyrians; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, Parmenio asked the king the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that, when he was at Dio in Macedonia, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the Persians, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into Asia, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the Persians; and that therefore, on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at Dio, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly, by his assistance, conquer Darius, and overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high priest, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon, turning again to Jaddua, he kindly embraced him, and entered Jerusalem with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple; where

[c] It was so called from the Hebrew Zapha, which signifieth to see as from a watch tower, or any other eminence.

Jaddua having shewn him the prophecies of Daniel [f] which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendering him kindly affected to the Jews, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their country, laws and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, Alexander readily granted them all this request; which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

For he was scarce gone out of Jerusalem, but [g] he was accosted by the Samaritans, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him, that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence. These are Josephus' words; and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited Alexander to must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the siege of Tyre, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him, while at that siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of Tyre lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to Jerusalem. The same Josephus indeed tells us, that Alexander from Tyre went immediately to Gaza, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to Jerusalem. But herein he must be again [h] mistaken: for Jerusalem lying in the way from Tyre to Gaza, it is by no means likely, that Alexander should from Tyre go directly to Gaza, then passing by Jerusalem, and afterwards return three or four days march with all his army back again to that city; or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of Gaza, while such a city as Jerusalem

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[f] That is, what is written in Daniel of the ram and he-goat, ch. viii. where that he-goat is interpreted to be the king of Grecia, who should conquer the Medes and Persians, (ver. 21.) and also what is written by the same prophet of the said Grecian king, ch. xi. 3. For both these prophecies foretold the destruction of the Persian empire by a Grecian king.

[g] Josephus, ibid.

[h] Vide Usserii Annales sub Anno Mundi 3673.

was left untaken behind him: and moreover, all that write of the life and actions of Alexander, tell us, that, from the taking of Gaza, he went directly into Egypt. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from thence to Gaza, I have related it in this order. However supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above mentioned for the building of this temple, the siege of Gaza lasting no longer; and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the Jews refused to obey that summons which Alexander sent them from Tyre to submit to him, [i] these Samaritans readily complied with it, and, to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent 8000 of their men to assist him in that siege; and, valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the Jews, and therefore, finding how well the Jews had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him; and, in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the 8000 Samaritans that were in Alexander's army joined with them herein. Alexander answered them kindly, telling them, that he was hastening into Egypt, and had not then time to spare; but that when he should come back again, he would comply with their desires as far as his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were Hebrews, who, observing the same law the Jews did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having, for this reason, granted the Jews this immunity, they desired of him, that, having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. Alexander, not being then at leisure to make full inquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them, that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to Gaza.

On his arrival at that city, [k] he found it strongly garrisoned under one of Darius' eunuchs, named Betis, who, being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended

[i] Josephus, ibid.

[k] Josephus, ibid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 1. c. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither, till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and, notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigour and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost Alexander and all his army two months time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that, on his taking the place, he treated the commander and all else that he found in it with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain 10,000 of the men, he sold all the rest with their wives and children, into slavery; and when Betis was brought to him (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place,) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn through them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who as Homer has it, thus dragged Hector round the walls of Troy. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation: for it was only Hector's dead carcase that Achilles dragged round Troy; but Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master in the post committed to his charge: which was deserving of a reward even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and Alexander would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of Homer, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror, having the Iliads of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore, finding Achilles to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he lived. But the folly

of mankind, and the error of historians, is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums; and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's country, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapine; and every one is to be detested, as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those only are true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries, the burning of cities, and all other calamities which attend war, are the scourges of God, the Attilas of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world, but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought, as such, to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who, having broke through treaties, leagues, and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturbed, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as Alexander had finished the siege of Gaza, and settled a garrison there, [1] he marched directly for Egypt, and, on the 7th day after, arrived at Pelusium, where he was met by great numbers of the Egyptians who thither flocked to him to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him; for their hatred to the Persians was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad soever any religion may be, (and a worse than that of the Egyptians could scarce any where be contrived,) yet as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to

[1] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

be offered to it; and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. Ochus had slain their god Apis in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them, or their religion; and the Persians whom he left to govern the country carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner; which raised their indignation against them to so great an height, that when Amyntas came thither a little before but with an handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the Persians out of the country. This Amyntas having revolted from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the mercenary Greeks at the battle of Issus,[m] from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got to Tripoli in Syria, and, having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence, first to Cyprus, and then to Pelusium in Egypt, and seized that place: for, coming thither under pretence of a commission from Darius to be governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces the former governor, who was slain at Issus, he, by this means, got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing Egypt for himself, and driving the Persians thence; and great numbers of the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Persians, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for Memphis, the capital of that kingdom, and, in the first battle which he had with the Persians, he got the victory, and shut them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, Amyntas permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the country, the Persians took the advantage of sallying upon them, while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and Amyntas with them. However, this did not quell the aversion which the Egyptians bore the Persians, but rather increased it. So that, when Alexander entered that country, he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the country, and make their submission to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from Amyntas;

[m] Arrian. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 587, 588.

and therefore, on his approach, they immediately, without reserve, all declared for him: whereon Mazæus, who commanded at Memphis for Darius, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a power, submitted also, and, opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him; whereby, without any farther opposition, he became forthwith master of the whole country.

From Memphis he projected a journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, which was situated among the sands and deserts of Lybia, at the distance of 200 miles from Egypt. For [n] Ham, the son of Noah, as he was the first planter of Egypt and Lybia after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles breadth of firm land among those deserts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the Greeks called Jupiter, and the Egyptians Ammon; and hence it is, that the city in Egypt which the scriptures call [o] No Ammon, (that is, the city of Ham or Ammon,) is by the Greeks called Diospolis, (that is, the city of Jupiter.) After times did put the Egyptian name and the Greek name both together, and called him Jupiter Hammon. Alexander's journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and, according to the religion of those times, altogether as impious. For finding in Homer, and other fables of ancient times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other, and aiming to be celebrated an hero as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also, and, having chosen Jupiter Hammon to be his father in this farce, he [p] sent messengers before, to corrupt the priests, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

In his way thither, [q] observing a place over-against the island of Pharus on the sea coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built Alexandria, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom: for it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean

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[n] Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 1.

[o] Jer. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

[p] Justin. lib. 11. c. 11. Orosius, lib. 3. c. 16.

[q] Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 590.

before it, and the Nile and the Red sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the East and of the West, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out of a way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it is [r] now degenerated into a poor village, by the Turks called Scanderia, remarkable for nothing else, but that it still shews some of the ruins of what it anciently was. Alexander, in the building of this city, made use [s] of Denocrates for his architect, whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which had been burned by Erostratus; and having, by his advice, drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon. It was from thence at the distance of 1600 furlongs, (that is 200 of our miles,) and most of the way was through sandy deserts; in which he did run two great hazards, the first of being overwhelmed by the sands, and the other of perishing for want of water. By the former, Cambyses lost an army of 50,000 men in these deserts, (as hath been above related,) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over, had not Providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them, for the bringing to pass those events which he was designed for. Having, on his coming to the temple, there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being Jupiter's son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth, in all his letters, orders, and decrees, styled himself King Alexander, son of Jupiter Hammon, giving out that this god begot him on Olympias his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and

[r] See Thevenot's Travels, part 1. book 2. c. 1, 2.

[s] Plin. lib. 5. c. 10. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22. c. 16. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 641. Solinus, c. 32, 40.

cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to affect the being thought a god himself, till, in the conclusion, when Providence had no more for him to do, his death shewed him to be a mortal like other men.

In his return he came again to Alexandria, and [t] took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the Jews, to whom he gave [u] great privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the Macedonians themselves whom he planted there; and then, departing from thence, he returned to Memphis, and wintered in that place.

It is remarked by Varro, that, at the time that Alexander built Alexandria in Egypt, the use of the papyrus for writing on was first found out in that country. The papyrus, [x] in its proper signification, is a sort of great bulrush growing in the marshes of Egypt near the Nile. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen feet, and is usually a foot and a half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins, one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These, when separated, and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it, they called also Papyrus. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the 11th and 12th chapters of the 13th book of Pliny's Natural History, and the book entitled *de Papyro*, which Guilandinus hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given by Salmasius, in his comment on the life of Firmus in Vopiscus, who was one of the writers of the Historia Augusta. From this papyrus it is, that [y] what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *paper*, though of quite another nature from the ancient papyrus of the Egyptians. Many other devices were made

[t] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

[u] Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 36.

[x] Plin. lib. 12. c. 13. Guilandinus de Papyro. Pancirol. part 2. tit. 13. Salmuth in eundem. Parkinson's Herbal, tribe 13. c. 39.

[y] Vide Vossi Etymologicon in voce Papyrus.

use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. Pliny [z] tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm tree. Afterwards they made use [a] of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose: which inner bark being in Latin called Liber, and in Greek Βίβλος, from hence a book hath ever since, in the Latin language, been called Liber, and in the Greek Βίβλος, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks. And the Chinese still make use of such inner barks or rinds of trees to write upon, as some of their books brought into Europe plainly shew. Another way made use of among the Greeks and Romans, and which was as ancient as Homer (for he makes mention of it in his poems,) was to write [b] on tables of wood covered over with wax. On these they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax; and hence it is that the different way of men's writings or compositions are called different styles. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in Latin, called [b] Tabellæ, and the carriers of them [b] Tabellarii. When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who, cutting the string, opened, and read them. But, [c] on the invention of the Egyptian papyrus for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded; no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore, when [d] Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts of books into it, he caused them all to be copied out on this sort of paper. And it was exported also for the use of other countries, till Eumenes, king of Pergamus, endeavouring to erect a library at Pergamus, which should outdo that at Alexandria, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportation of that commodity. For the [d] Ptolemy who then reigned in Egypt not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to Eumenes' emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *papyr* out of Egypt, thinking that, without it, he could no

[z] Lib. 13. c. 11.
[a] Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Liber.
[b] Vide Vossii Etymologicon in Voce Tabula.
[c] Vide Vossi Etymologicon in Voce Papyrus.
[d] Plin. lib. 13. c. 11.

farther multiply his books. This put Eumenes upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterwards put into his library; and hence [c] it is, that parchment is called Pergamena in Latin, that is, from the city Pergamus in Lesser Asia, where it was first used for this purpose among the Greeks. For that Eumenes, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment cannot be true: for in [f] Isaiah, [g] Jeremiah, [h] Ezekiel, and other parts of the holy scriptures, many ages before the time of Eumenes, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged, that the authentic copy of the law, which [i] Hilkiah found in the temple, and sent to king Josiah, was of this material; none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature, as to last from Moses' time till then (which was 830 years.) And it is said by [k] Diodorus Siculus, that the Persians of old wrote all their records on skins. And [l] Herodotus tells us of sheep-skins and goat-skins made use of in writing by the ancient Ionians, many hundreds of years before Eumenes' time. And can any one think, that these skins were not dressed and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the after-times, though perchance not so artificially? It is possible, Eumenes might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at Pergamus, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough, from Pergamus, to call them Pergamenæ. These were found so useful for records and books, by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have, are written in them. But, from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags is that which hath been generally made use of, both in writing and in printing, as being the most convenient for both; and the use of parchment hath been mostly appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it

[c] Vide Vossi Etymologicon in voce Pergamena.
[f] Chap. viii. 1.
[g] Chap. xxxvi.
[h] Chap. ii. 9. and chap. iii. 1, 2, 3.
[i] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chr. xxxiv.
[k] Lib. 2. p. 81. [l] Herodot. lib. 5.

is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper Mr. Ray puts very late: for he tells us, [m] in his herbal, that it was not known in Germany till the year of our Lord 1470; that then, two men, named Antony and Michael, brought this at first to Basil, out of Galicia in Spain, and that from thence it was learned and brought into use by the rest of the Germans. But there must be a mistake in this; there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancienter than the year 1470. There is extant a book [n] called Cathlicon, written by Jacobus de Janua, a monk, printed on paper at Mentz in Germany, *anno* 1460; and therefore the Germans must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith, And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancienter, as may be especially evidenced in several registers within this realm, where the dates of the instruments or acts registered prove the time. There is, in the bishop's registry at Norwich, a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just 100 years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it begun in Germany. And I have seen a registration of some acts of John Granden, prior of Ely, made upon paper, which bears date in the 14th year of King Edward II. that is, *anno Domini* 1320. This invention seems to have been brought out of the East; for most of the old manuscripts in Arabic, and the other oriental languages which we have from thence, are written in this sort of paper; and some of them are certainly much ancienter, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It is most likely, the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the East into that country; of which Galicia being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been first brought into Germany: but it must have been much earlier than the time he says.

Ptolemy the astronomer being an Egyptian, and a native of Alexandria, begins the reign of Alexander over the East from the building of this city. And here ends the reign of Darius and the Persian empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.

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[m] Lib. 22. c. 9.

[n] This book is in the Library collected by Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely. See the Oxford catalogue of the manuscripts of England and Ireland, tom. 2. part 1. p. 379.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER, while he wintered at Memphis, settled the affairs of Egypt. The [a] military command he entrusted only with his Macedonians, dividing the country into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants, independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous country into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in Doloaspes an Egyptian: for his intentions being, that the country should still be governed by its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And [b] that the finishing of his new city Alexandria (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed Cleomenes to be his supervisor in that

Anno 331. Alexander 1.

[a] Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

[b] Arrian. & Q. Curtius, ibidem. Aristotelis Oeconom, lib. 2.

work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in [c] Justin he is said to be the founder of that city. He was [d] of Naucratis, a Grecian city in Egypt, there built by a colony [e] of the Milesians in times long before past. Alexander also did set him over the tribute of Arabia; but, being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts, to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death: for Ptolemy, after he had possessed himself of Egypt, finding him plotting against him for the interest of Perdiccas, [f] caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of Alexander's to him of a very odd nature: for therein commanding him, on the death of Hephestion, to build two temples to that favourite, one in Alexandria, and the other in the island of Pharus adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon, as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, [g] of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance which Providence at length, by the hand of Ptolemy, brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

When Alexander had thus disposed of all matters in Egypt, the spring drawing on, he hastened towards the East to find out Darius. In [h] the way, on his returning to Palestine, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him. On his going from that country into Egypt, he had made Andromachus, a special favourite of his, governor of Syria and Palestine; [h] on whose coming to Samaria, to settle some matters there, the Samaritans mutinied against him, and, rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burned him to death. This, it is supposed, they did out of a rage and discontent that those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the Jews; whereas, by their services to Alexander, especially at the siege of Tyre, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. Alexander, being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest

[c] Justin. lib. 13. c. 4.
[d] Arrian. lib. 3.
[e] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 801. Stephanus and Suidas in Ναύκρατις.
[f] Pausanias in Atticis.
[g] Arrian. lib. 7.
[h] Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8. Eusebii Chron. p. 177. Cedrenus.

out of the city of Samaria, planting there, instead of them, a colony of his Macedonians, and giving [j] their other territories to the Jews. Those that survived this calamity retired to Shechem, under Mount Gerizim; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the Samaritan sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas 8000 Samaritans had joined him at Tyre, and followed his camp ever since, that they might not, on their return, revive this mutinous temper of their countrymen, to the creating of new disturbances, [k] he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and settled them on such lands as he there caused to be divided unto them.

On Alexander's return into Phœnicia, [l] he staid some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries which he was to leave behind him before he did set forward to acquire more. And, when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to Thapsacus, and, having there passed the Euphrates, directed his course towards the Tigris, in quest of the enemy. Darius, in the interim, having solicited Alexander for peace three several times, and, finding, by his answers, that none was to be expected from him but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applied himself to provide for another battle; in order whereto, he got together at Babylon a numerous army, it being [m] by one half bigger than that with which he fought at Issus, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards Nineveh. Thither Alexander followed after him, and, having passed the Tigris, got up with him at a small village called Gaugamela; where it came to a decissive battle between them; in which Alexander, with 50,000 men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battle,) vanquished the vast army of the Persians, which was above 20 times as big, and this in an open plain country, without having the advantage of straits to secure his flanks, as in the battle of Issus: and hereby the fate of the Persian empire was determined; for none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror; and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that

[j] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

[k] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

[l] Plutarch. in Alexand. c. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

[m] Darius had in this battle about 1,100,000.

empire in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the Persian kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which, in the prophecies [n] of Daniel, was foretold concerning him. This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus two years before; and the place where it was fought was Gaugamela in Assyria; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

Darius, after this defeat, [o] fled into Media, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther trial of his fortune in another battle. Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela; but, before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treasure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where, having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment after the fatigue of the battle, he marched towards Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and the province belonging to it, and had been one of Darius' generals in the late battle; where, after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the Persians as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But, on Alexander's approach, with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him; but, going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to him; and Bagaphanes, the governor of the castle, where the greatest part of Darius' treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master and receive the new. After 30 days tarrying in that city, he continued Mazæus, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province; but, placing a Macedonian in the command of the castle, he took Bagaphanes along with him, and marched to Susa, and from thence, after the taking of that city, to persepolis, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him

[n] Daniel vii. 6. & viii. 5, 6, 7. 20, 21. & x. 20. & xi. 3.

[o] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at Persepolis about the middle of December, he gave the city to be sacked by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities which in this case use to be acted by soldiers, let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the Persian empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to Greece, he did this, he said, to execute the revenge of Greece upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving Parmenio and Craterus in the place with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and, having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to Persepolis, after 30 days, and there took up his winter-quarters.

While Alexander lay at this place, [p] he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them; one of which was Thais, a famous Athenian courtezan, and then miss to Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt. This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to Alexander the burning down of the city and palace of Persepolis, for the revenging of Greece upon the Persians, especially for the burning of Athens by Xerxes. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause, and Alexander himself, in the heat of his wine, running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed with him at their head, and, setting fire to the city and palace, burned both to the ground; which Alexander, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of; but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, was destroyed by this drunken king, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this at Persepolis was such, the ruins of it sufficiently shew, [q] which are still remaining even to this day, at a place called Chehel-Minar, near Shiras, in Persia. The name [r] signifieth, in the Persian language, *forty*

Anno 330. Alexander 2.

[p] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 11.

[q] See the Travels of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin.

[r] Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113.

pillars, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

In the interim Darius being fled to Ecbatana in Media, [s] there gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to and to them, for the making up of another army. But Alexander having, by the beginning of the spring, settled all his affairs in Persia, made after him into Media. Of this, Darius having received intelligence, left Ecbatana, with intentions to march into Bactria, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far ere he altered his purpose: for, fearing lest Alexander should overtake him before he could reach Bactria, he stopped his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battle with the forces then about him, which amounted to about 40,000 men, horse and foot. But while he was preparing for it, Bessus governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes another Persian nobleman, confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and, making him their prisoner, put him in chains, and then, shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him towards Bactria, purposing, if Alexander pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but, if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war. Alexander, on his coming to Ectabana, found Darius was gone from thence about eight days before; however, he pursued hard after him for 11 days together, till he came to Rages, a city of Media, often mentioned [t] in Tobit, and which was the place where Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, is said in the book [u] of Judith, to have slain Arphaxad king of Media. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after Darius any farther, he staid in this place several days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of Media. Of which having made Oxidates, a noble Persian, governor, he marched into Parthia; where, having received intelligence of Darius' case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him with part of his army, leaving the rest, under the command of Craterus, to follow

[s] Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Curtius, lib. 5.

[t] Chap. i. 14. & iv. 1.

[u] Chap. i. 15.

after him: and, after several days hard march, he at last came up with the traitors: whereon they would have persuaded Darius to mount on horse-back for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him a-dying in his cart. Philastratus, one of Alexander's soldiers, found him in this condition; but he expired before Alexander himself came up to him. When he saw his corpse, he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a spectacle; and, having cast his cloak over it, he commanded it to be wrapped up therein, and carried to Sysigambis at Susa (where he had left her with the other captive ladies,) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying-place of the kings of Persia, and allowed the expences necessary for it. And this was the end of this great king, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted, from the first of Cyrus, 209 years. After this fact, Nabarzanes fled into Hyrcania, and Bessus into Bactria, and there he declared himself king by the name of Artaxerxes.

Alexander [x] was not staid by the death of Darius from still pursuing after the traitor Bessus; but, finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into Parthia; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into Hyrcania, and received that country under his subjection. After that he subdued the Mardans, Arians, Drangeans, Arcausians, and several other nations, over which he flew with victory, swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days, one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, of near 40 miles a day, for 11 days together. So that, by the speed of his marches, he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel, some ages before; he being in them set forth under the similitude [y] of a panther or leopard with four wings: for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is, in an-

[x] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. Arrian, Q. Curtius, & Justin. ibid.

[y] Dan. vii. 6.

other place of those prophecies, compared to an [z] he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

While Alexander was among the Drangeans, [a] discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidents, being found to be the head, was put to death for it, with all his accomplices. And whether Alexander thought Parmenio to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to Ecbatana, where he had left him with part of his forces, to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him; this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this, Alexander, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as Mount Caucasus, where, having built a city, which, from his name, he called also Alexandria, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

Early the next spring, [b] he made after Bessus; and having driven him out of Bactria, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into Sogdiana, the country now called Cowaresmia, where he was retired. This province being separated from Bactria by the river Oxus, which was large and deep, Bessus' chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it: for, having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought Alexander could not possibly get over it to pursue him any farther. But no difficulty being unsurmountable to that conqueror, he found means, by stuffed skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over; whereon Bessus' followers, despairing of his case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to Alexander, who gave him into the hands of Oxatres, the brother of Darius, to be

Anno 329 Alexander 3.

[z] Dan. viii. 5.

[a] Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6. c. 7, 8, 9, &c.

[b] Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his king. For after the death of Darius, this Oxatres surrendered himself to Alexander, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And Oxatres having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

Sogdiana breeding a great number of horses, [c] Alexander came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry: for, by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either killed or spoiled most of the horses of his army. But, notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here, as in other provinces: for he had not now to do with the effeminate Persians and Babylonians, but with the Sogdians, Dahans, and Massagets, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the Caspian sea, between the river Oxus on the south, and the river Orxantes on the north; the last of these Quintus Curtius and Arrian call Tanais, very erroneously: for the river Tanais is much more to the west, and dischargeth itself, not into the Caspian, but into the Euxine sea, and is the same which we now call the Don. Pliny [d] takes notice of this mistake, and tells us it proceeded from Alexander's soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called Silys. The capital of this province was Maracanda, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same which, being now called Samarcand, is the chief city of the Usbeck Tartars. While Alexander lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter, [e] he basely, in a drunken fury, murdered Clitus, one of the best of his friends, which afterwards he condemned himself for, as much as every body else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued the Sogdians, and reduced such of the Bactrians as had revolted from him, he took up his winter-quar-

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[c] Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian, lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

[d] Lib. 6. c. 16.

[e] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 1. Arrian lib. 4.

ters in Nautaca, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

While he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, [f] he fell in love with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyathres, a noble Persian, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterwards by her actions, especially in the murder of Darius' daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That Alexander's marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his Macedonians, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found inclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the Persian ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feastings upon them.

Anno 328. Alexander 4.

But, while these things were a-doing in the camp, [g] Alexander's head was busy in projecting an expedition into India: his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprise, was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old Grecian fables, that Bacchus and Hercules, two of Jupiter's sons, had made this expedition into India, and he would fain, in emulation of them, do the same: for having been declared Jupiter's son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded that all that were admitted to make addresses unto him should adore him, as formerly they had the Persian kings. All his old friends misliked this conduct in him, and none more than Callisthenes the philosopher. He [h] was a kinsman of Aristotle, Alexander's master, and had been sent by him to attend this young conqueror on his first entering on the Persian war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since; and, being a very wise and grave man, was thought

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[f] Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 4. Arrian. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

[g] Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5. 9, 10, &c. Plutarch in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 12. c. 7.

[h] Laertius in Vita Aristotelis. Plutarch. in Alexandro et in Sylla.

the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But Alexander, not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of Clitus, is that which, of all his other actions, bore hardest upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two; for he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by saucy and abusive language, when he slew Clitus; but Calisthenes he did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

But, before [i] he went on his Indian expedition, he very providentially took care to secure all in quiet behind him; and therefore, while he lay in those quarters at Nautaca, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his authority in any part of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused 30,000 young men of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that, having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war.

On his marching into India, [k] his army with these augmentations, consisted of 120,000 men, Grecians and Persians, besides 15,000 which he left with Amyntas in Bactria, to keep those parts in quiet. Many nations on this side the river Indus were then reckoned to be of India; and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. [l] Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him, as the third son of Jupiter that had come among them, mean-

[i] Arrian, lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5.
[k] Q. Curtius, ibid.
[l] Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

ing Bacchus and Hercules for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god. Among those whom he subdued by force were the Assacans. But Cleophis, the queen of that nation, being a very beautiful woman, redeemed her kingdom, by prostituting her body to his lust; whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the Indians, that they afterwards called her by no other name than that of the Royal Whore. By this concubinage she had a son, whom, from the name of his father, she called Alexander, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and, if Paulus Venetus may be believed, there were in a certain province of India, which he calls Balascia, kings of his race reigning there even to this time.

Early the next spring, [m] he passed the river Indus, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the river Hydaspes. Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of Taxiles, who submitted to him. But beyond the Hydaspes lay the kingdom of Porus, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progress. This on Alexander's passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them; wherein, after a fight of eight hours, Porus' army was vanquished with great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune, so took with Alexander, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For, after this, having passed the river Acesinis, which terminated Porus' kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river Hydraotes, he added this also to Porus' dominions. After this, passing the Hydraotes, he marched to Hyphasis, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on to the Ganges. But his soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars, for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the Hydaspes; where having, at the place where he vanquished Porus, built a city which he called Nicæa, in memory of that victory, and another not far from

Anno 327. Alexander 5.

[m] Plutarch. et Curtius, ibid. Didor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 5.

it, which he called Bucephala, in memory of his horse Bucephalus, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the Indus, and the southern parts of India, purposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to Babylon.

This fleet [a] he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the Indus, and it had been ever since a making ready for him in the several places that he had appointed; which, when it was all brought together, amounted to 2000 vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to Nearchus, and then, putting his army on board, he sailed down the Hydaspes into the Acesinis, and through that into the Indus: for the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way, he had to do with two very valiant nations, the Oxidracians and the Mallians. The former of these inhabited where the Hydaspes fell into the Acesinis, and the other where the Acesinis fell into the Indus. Both these he forced into a submission, though not without great difficulty. And, while he besieged one of the cities of the Mallians, he was very near losing his life: for, being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, ere any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the Indus as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the Indus into the southern ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed; and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his Indian conquests, he sent Nearchus, with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way into the Persian gulf, and up through that into the Euphrates, and meet him at Babylon; and then he with his army marched over land towards the same place.

Anno 326. Alexander 6.

The [b] way that he took in his march thither was through the southern provinces of Persia; a great part of which being a very barren country, and full of sandy desarts, he suffered very much in his pas-

Anno 325. Alexander 7.

[a] Arrian. lib. 6. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarch. in Alexandro.
[b] Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus, ibid.

sage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions; and the scorching heat of the climate, added to the calamity, which grew so great, that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into India. When he arrived in the province of Carmania, (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called Kerman,) he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days together through that province, in way of triumph for his Indian conquests. For it seems he had heard that Bacchus returned in this manner after his like expedition into that country: for he much affected to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in all this expedition: and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.

Nearchus, having coasted along all the countries, from the Indus to the mouth of the Persian gulf, arrived at the isle of Harmusia, (now called Ormus;) where, hearing that Alexander was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the Euphrates to Babylon, as he had appointed.

While Alexander was in Carmania, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in India; for, reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them 600 of the soldiers who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers, whom he after that found in the same abuses; which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

Being exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that Nearchus had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the Persian gulf, to sail round Arabia and Africa, and return by the mouth of the straits (then called Hercules' pillars, now the straits of Gibraltar,) into the Mediterranean sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed at the command

of Necho king of Egypt, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in Mesopotamia and Syria, for a fleet of ships, fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the Euphrates, especially at Thapsacus, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on Mount Libanus, and carried thither for this purpose. This shews the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quashed by his death.

On his coming to Pasargada, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of Cyrus, who was there buried. For since he was last there, (which was a little after his taking of Persepolis,) it had been broken up and robbed. The Magians who had the keeping of the sepulchre and several others were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the malice of Bagoas, a beloved eunuch of Alexander's, the whole guilt was charged upon Orsines, the governor of the province. This Bagoas was a very beautiful young eunuch: Nabarzanes, who conspired with Bessus in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death of Darius, presented him unto Alexander for the service of his lust; and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use! and, by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble Persian to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude: for he had very much served him, especially in that province; for Phrasaortes, the governor of it, dying while Alexander was in India, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of Alexander, to the time of his arrival thither; and, on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and, being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But, when he presented the rest of Alexander's friends and favourites, taking no notice of Bagoas, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the king's friends, not to his catamites;* this so angered the eunuch, that, to work his revenge, he contrived, that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of Cyrus was turned upon the governor of the

province; and having suborned false witnesses, to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with Alexander to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

From Pasargada he marched to Persepolis, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards Susa. In his way thither he met Nearchus with his fleet: for [p] Nearchus, according to his orders, had sailed up the Persian gulf, into the Euphrates; but there, hearing Alexander was on his march towards Susa, he sailed back again to the mouth of the Pisitigris, and from thence up that river to a bridge which Alexander was to pass. And there the land army and the sea army meeting, they both joined together. For which Alexander offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicing in his camp, and high honours were there given to Nearchus, for his successful conduct of the fleet, in bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

When Alexander came to Susa, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, [q] he took to wife Statira, the eldest of Darius' daughters, and gave the younger, called Drypetis, to Hephestion his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about 100, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the Persian empire, he hoped, by these marriages, to make such an union of the Grecians and Persians together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And, for five days together, these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies Alexander paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as

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[p] Arrianus de Rebus Indicis.

[q] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro, & in libro de Fortuna Alexandri. Arrian. lib. 7. where, by mistake, this daughter of Darius is called Barsina. For Barsina was the concubine, not the wife of Alexander, and the daughter of Artabazus, not of Darius. She was first married to Memnon, and, after his death, being taken into the bed of Alexander, she had a son by him called Hercules.

had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to 10,000 talents, Justin and Arrian say 20,000. On these and other such occasions, he expended vast sums which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of Darius: for out of them he laid up in his treasury at Ecbatana only [r] 190,000 talents, besides what he had at Babylon, and in other treasuries through the empire.

These nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of Hephestion, [s] and with the rest, went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the Eulæus (in [t] Daniel called the Ulai,) on which Susa stood, and sailed down that river into the Persian gulf, and from thence passed up the Tigris, to the city Opis, where Hephestion met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he [u] caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into Greece, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them; but, it being taken by another handle, as if he were weary of his Macedonians, and dismissed them only to make room for the new recruits which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed; telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father Hammon might alone wage his wars for the future; they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke

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[r] Justin, lib. 12. c. 1. This amounts to above thirty-five millions and an half of our money, according to the lowest calculation; but, according to Dr. Bernard's computation, it comes to near forty millions.

[s] Arrian, lib. 7.

[t] Chap. viii. 2, 16.

[u] Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 2.

not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the Persian manners and habit, his marrying a Persian lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered countries, into the Macedonian militia, and the advancing of many Persians to places of honour and trust, both in the army and in the provinces, equally with the Macedonians: for he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and ingross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the Persians with them: and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on this occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his Asiatic soldiers, excluding the Macedonians, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, choosing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers; which soon brought them to a better temper; for, seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour: this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

From Opis, he marched by several stations to Ecbatana in Media. While he was there, [x] he lost his favourite Hephestion; for, having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For Alexander, having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them: and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far, [y] that 40 persons

[x] Plut. in Alex. Arr. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

[y] Athen. lib. 10. c. 12. Plut. in Alex. Æliam. Hist. Var. lib. 2. c. 41.

died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expences, and also with as extravagant cruelty: for he caused his physician to be crucified, for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who, by all manner of excesses, did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the patient himself baffled all that the physician prescribed for his recovery; for when, to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for the remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities, as soon put it beyond the power of physic to give him any relief; and thus, by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often, upon reflection, bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance; and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws, as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

Alexander, to divert his grief after this loss, [z] led his army against the Cossaens (a warlike nation in the mountains of Media, which none of the Persian kings could ever bring into subjection to them,) and having, in a war of 40 days, wholly subdued them, he passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon. On his approach near that place, the Magians and the other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But, contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place, where he found ambassadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

Anno 324. Alexander 8.

While he continued at Babylon (which was near the space

[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arr. lib. 7. Plut. in Alex.

of a whole year, he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of Africa; another for the making of a full discovery of the Caspian sea, and of all the nations round it; and for both these he had provided fleets: another was to conquer the Arabians; and a fourth, to make war against the Carthaginians, and carry on his conquests to the pillars of Hercules, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the Grecian poets. And, besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of Babylon. For, finding it, not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the East, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire; and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by Cyrus' breaking down the banks of the Euphrates at the head of the canal called Pallacopa, I have above shewn. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place; whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the Babylonians, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he sailed to the place where the breach was made, and, having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon, was to repair the temple of Belus. This Xerxes destroyed in his return from Greece (as hath been above related,) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to [a] build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish; but finding the Magians, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them; and although 10,000 of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the Jews, who then served Alexander among his Asian

[a] Arrian. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

recruits, to labour in this work, [b] they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it; arguing that their religion being against idolatry, it forbad them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous temple: and to this resolution they all firmly stood; so that, though several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it; whereupon Alexander, admiring their constancy, dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own country.

But the greatest part of the time that Alexander lay in Babylon was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking; which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drunk himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite Hephestion had before him.

This happened about the middle of the spring, [c] in the first year of the 140th Olympiad, which fell in the year before Christ 323. At his death, there went a general report that he died of poison; and the same hath been said of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking-bout, was immediately invited to another; at which there being twenty in company, [d] he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then [e] calling for the Herculean cup which held six of our quarts) he drank this full to Proteas, a Macedonian, who was one of the guests; and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup, he dropped down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fixed and lasting opinion among the Macedonians; and there were such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poisonous liquor

Anno 323. Philip 1.

[b] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1.

[c] Arrian. lib. 7. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

[d] Athen. lib. 10. c. 11. & lib. 12. c. 18.

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Plut. in Alex. Sen. ep. 83. Macrob. Saturnal, lib. 5. c. 21. Athen, lib. 11. c. 17.

was also one ingredient of the cup that killed him. [f] The sons of Antipater were charged to be the authors of this treason; and the common report was, that Cassander the eldest of them brought the poison out of Greece, and that Iollas his brother, who was cup-bearer to Alexander, gave it to him; and that he choose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worse cause of his death. Alexander, a little before this time, having dismissed 10,000 of his veterans, who were past his service, sent Craterus to conduct them into Greece, with commission to succeed Antipater in his government of Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly; and ordered Antipater to come to him to Babylon, to take Craterus' place in the army. But Antipater being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many mal-administrations he had been guilty of in his government, did, by the hands of his sons, execute this treason upon the life of Alexander, to save his own. And the death of Alexander happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And, it is certain, Cassander could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the Macedonians as long as he lived. Pausanias, in his Arcadics, tells us of a fountain [g] in Arcadia called Styx, whose waters are so exceeding cold, as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that Alexander drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distills from the rock Nonacris, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks through all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from Greece to Babylon, for the executing of this villanous murder.

And here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than

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[f] Plut. in Alex. Arrian. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Just. lib. 12. c. 13, 14. Pausan. in Arcadicis. Q. Curt. lib. 10. c. 10. Plin. lib. 30. c. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8. c. 3.

[g] Curtius, by mistake, placeth this fountain in Macedonia; but Vitruvius, lib. 8. c. 3. Plutarch in the life of Alexander, & Strabo, lib. 8. p. 389. put it in the same place where Pausanias doth, that is, in the mountain Nonacris in Arcadia, and tell us, that Alexander was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he and others relate.

he had for twelve years and an half together, (for so long he reigned from the death of his father:) in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the Adriatic sea to the Ganges, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And although most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the Persians, in passing the Granicus with only 35,000 men against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success creating a panic fear of him through all the Persian empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards obtained; for no other army after that, though twenty times the number of his (as was that of Arbela,) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his actions. And the old Greek ballads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag Betis round the walls of Gaza, as Achiles had Hector round those of Troy. This made him make that hazardous expedition into India; for Bacchus and Hercules were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through Carmania on his return, which is above mentioned: for Bacchus was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of Jupiter: for most of the Grecian fables, making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this, as well as not in any thing else to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did, by his providence, bear him through in all things for the accomplishing of it, and, when that was done, did cast him out of his hand; for he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had out-lived the 33d year of his age.

After his death, [h] there arose great confusion among his followers about the succession. But at length, after seven days

[h] Curtius, lib. 10. Diod. Sic. 8. Plutarch. in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. c. 1—4.

contest, it came to this agreement, that Aridæus, a bastard brother of Alexander's, should be declared king; and that, if Roxana, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and Perdiccas should have the guardianship of both; for Aridæus, being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this, the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving Perdiccas at Babylon to take care of Aridæus, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors; but at length took that of kings, as they had the authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguing and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and they divided the whole empire among them. Cassander had Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, and those parts of Asia as lay upon the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria; and Seleucus, all the rest. And hereby [j] the prophecies of Daniel were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great horn of the Macedonian empire, that is, Alexander, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four kings out of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them: and the manner how they did so, will, in the future series of this history, be fully declared.

Aridæus being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to [k] that of Philip; and from hence the Philippian æra hath its original, which the Egyptians computing from the first day of that year in which Alexander died, that is, from the first day of their Thoth preceding (which fell in the 12th of our November,) Ptolemy the astronomer doth the same in his canon, though contrary to the method hitherto observed by him: for, in all other descents preceding this, he begins the reign of the successor from the Thoth following, and not from the Thoth preceding the death of the successor.

Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, though she had borne with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and 80 of her brothers slain by Ochus in one day, and, since that,

[j] Daniel vii. 6. viii. 8, 21, 22. xi. 4.

[k] Justin, lib. 13. c. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Ptolemæus in Canone.

the death of her son, and the ruin of his family, yet [l] could not bear the death of Alexander. He had shewn great kindness to her, and, not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity, and therefore, on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also [m] of her two grand-daughters, Statira, the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis, the widow of Hephestion: for Roxana having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of Perdiccas, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared Statira might be with child; and, if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one; and therefore thus made her away, to prevent it, and her sister with her. And, [n] not long after, she was delivered of a son, who was called Alexander, and his name, with that of Aridæus or Philip, was afterwards joined in the government of the empire; though neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those who had divided the provinces among them.

In this division of the provinces, [o] Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were assigned to Eumenes, who had been secretary of state to Alexander. But these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the Macedonian dominion: for Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, still held those countries, and Alexander, having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore, he being first to be conquered before Eumenes could be put in possession of this government, Perdiccas sent to Antigonus and Leonnatus for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and the Greater Phrygia; and the latter, that of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont. But they having both of them other designs in their heads, for the promoting of their own interest,

Anno 322. Philip 2.

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[l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 13. c. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 8.

[m] Plutarch. in Alexandro.

[n] Arrian. in Excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Atticis & Bœoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

[o] Plutarch. in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. c. 4. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

neither of them had any regard to what Perdiccas ordered. Leonnatus was then marching into Greece, under pretence of carrying assistance to Antipater, governor of Macedonia, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the Greeks against him, but, in reality, to seize Macedonia and Greece for himself; but he being slain in battle against those Greeks, this did put an end to all his designs. When Eumenes came to him with Perdiccas' order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and, in order hereto, communicated to him his whole scheme. But Eumenes, liking neither the man nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon Leonnatus would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which Eumenes being aware of, fled to Perdiccas, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was, on other accounts, very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best head-piece of all Alexander's captains. And therefore Perdiccas, to gratify him, taking the two kings along with him, marched into Cappadocia, and, having vanquished Ariarathes, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, settled Eumenes in the quiet possession of his government; and afterwards having subdued Isaurus and Laranda, two cities of Pisidia, that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched into Cilicia, and there took up his winter-quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, in her stead. She had been wife to Alexander king of Epirus; but he having been slain in his wars in Italy, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Thither Perdiccas sent Eumenes to propose the match, and court her to it: for she being in great credit and esteem with the Macedonians, as sister to Alexander both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire. Antigonus, getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into Greece to Antipater and Craterus, who were then making war with the Ætolians, and discovered to them the whole plot: whereupon, clapping up a peace with the Ætolians, they immediately marched to the Hellespont to watch their designs, and took Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This Craterus was one of the most

eminent of Alexander's captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into Macedonia 10,000 of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service, with orders to take upon him the government of Macedonia and Greece, in the room of Antipater, whom he had called to Babylon, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of Alexander, these provinces having been assigned to him in joint authority with Antipater, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he had done in this, which the discovery of Perdiccas' designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim, Perdiccas sent Eumenes into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon Neoptolemus, governor of Armenia, which lay next him; for Perdiccas had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterwards appear.

In the beginning [p] of the next spring, Perdiccas having assembled all his forces together in Cappadocia, deliberated with his friends whether he should march immediately into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or else into Egypt against Ptolemy. Should he march first into Macedonia, the fear was, that Ptolemy, who had made himself very strong in Egypt, should take the advantage to seize all the Greater Asia. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave Ptolemy at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into Macedonia, and that, in the interim, Eumenes should be left with a part of the army to guard the Asian provinces against Antipater and Craterus. For the executing of which resolutions, Perdiccas gave unto Eumenes the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the Hellespont to Mount Taurus, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then, by the way of Damascus and Palestine, marched into Egypt, carrying the kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

Anno 321. Philip 3.

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Eumene. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

Eumenes, [q] to make good his charge, lost no time in providing for himself an army to withstand Antipater and Craterus, who had passed the Hellespont to make war upon him. They, in the first place, made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he, being a steady man, would not, on any terms, be wrought upon to break his faith with Perdiccas. But they had better success with Alcetas and Neoptolemus: for they prevailed with the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to him: but, while he was on his march to join their army, Eumenes fell upon him, and, having vanquished him in battle, took from him all his baggage; and Neoptolemus himself difficultly escaped, with 300 horse only, to Antipater and Craterus, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battle, taking service under Eumenes. Whereon Antipater marched into Cilicia, from thence to pass into Egypt to the assistance of Ptolemy, if his affairs should require it; and sent Craterus and Neoptolemus, with the rest of the army, into Cappadocia, against Eumenes; where, it coming to a battle between them, Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and Eumenes gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battle: for, whereas the Macedonians generally had that love for Craterus, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, Eumenes ordered the matter so, that none of the Macedonians that were in his army knew that Craterus was with the enemy, till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim [r] Perdiccas entered Egypt, and there waged war against Ptolemy, but not with the same success. For Ptolemy, since his having entered on the government of Egypt, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the Egyptians, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of Greece and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government; which added great increase to his strength: and the army of Perdiccas were so well affected to him, that they went with great unwillingness

[q] Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. c. 8. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

[r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Eumene. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Atticis.

to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him: all which made against Perdiccas, and at last ended in his ruin; for, having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the Nile, which made an island in it over against Memphis, he had 1000 of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the Macedonians who followed him to that degree, that, rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent, and most of his friends and confidents with him. About two days after came the news of Eumenes' victory. Had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterwards followed in favour of Ptolemy, Antipater, and those of their party. The next day after the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy passed over the Nile into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the Macedonians, that he turned them all over to him; and, when the news of Craterus' death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them, by a public decree, to declare Eumenes, and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the Macedonian state; and, by the same decree, Antipater and Antigonus were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the guardianship of the kings, in the room of Perdiccas, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending Pithon and Aridæus to this charge, and by his interest it was that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of Alexander through all his wars, and followed the party of Perdiccas till his late misfortune at the Nile; when, in dislike of his conduct, he deserted from him, and went over to Ptolemy. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till, on the death of Alexander, he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time spent herein, he carried the corpse in great solemnity from Babylon into Egypt, and there deposited it in the city of Memphis; from whence it was afterwards translated to Alexandria. A prophecy having been given out, that, wherever Alexander should be buried, that place of all others should be the most happy and prosperous, this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. Perdiccas, out of love to his country, would have it carried to Egæ in Macedonia, the

usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings, and others elsewhere. But Ptolemy prevailed to have it brought into Egypt; where Aridæus having carried it not long before the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, in order to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office. But Eurydice, the wife of King Aridæus (now called Philip,) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the Macedonians favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that, when they had led back the army to Triparadisus in Syria, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on Antipater; who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and restored all of the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution Seleucus had the government of Babylon conferred on him; who, from this beginning, afterwards grew up to be the greatest of Alexander's successors, as will hereafter be related. Antipater, having thus settled affairs, sent Antigonus to make war upon Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, leaving his son Cassander, with Antigonus, in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

This year Jaddua, the high priest of the Jews, being dead, [s] Onias, his son, succeeded him in that office, and lived in it 21 years.

Early the next spring, [t] Antigonus marched out of his winter-quarters against Eumenes; and, at Orcynium in Cappadocia, it came to a battle between them, in which Eumenes lost the victory, with 8000 of his men. This was caused by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who, being corrupted by Antigonus, deserted to him in the battle. However, the traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved; for Eumenes, having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this, Eumenes shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of Nora, which was situated in the confines of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

Anno 320. Philip 4.

In the mean time, [u] Ptolemy, finding how convenient Sy-

[s] Josephr. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chronico.

[t] Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

[u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Demet. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Pausan. in Atticis.

ria, Phœnicia, and Judea, lay for him, both for the defence of Egypt, as well as for the invading from thence the island of Cyprus, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were, in the first partition of the provinces of the empire, granted to Laomedon, the Mytelenian, one of Alexander's captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by Antipater at Triparadisus; and he had accordingly, from the death of Alexander to this time, been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. Ptolemy, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but, not prevailing this way, he sent Nicanor, one of his captains, with an army, into Syria, against him, while he with a fleet invaded Phœnicia. Nicanor, having vanquished Laomedon in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and Ptolemy had the same success on the maritime; so that, hereby he made himself master of all those provinces; and Antipater being returned into Macedonia, and Antigonus otherwise engaged against Eumenes, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, though both misliked it.

But when all other parts of the country, after this vanquishing of Laomedon, readily yielded to Ptolemy, [x] the Jews alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For, having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till overpowered by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon Ptolemy marched into Judea, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The place, being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the Jews had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which Ptolemy having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would, on that day, defend their walls against him. Josephus, being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the Greeks for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his Antiquities, as if Ptolemy were admitted into Jerusalem upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them;

[x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & contra Apion. lib. 1.

but [y] other historians, and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter; for it appears from [z] the book of the Maccabees, that till Mattathias, and those with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the Jews, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

When Ptolemy [a] had thus made himself master of Jerusalem, and all Judea, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants; for he carried above 100,000 of them captives into Egypt. But afterwards reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore, having chosen out of them 30,000 of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him Cyrene and Libya, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the Cyrenian Jews, of whom was Jason, [b] who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books, (of which the second book of Maccabees, which we now have, is an abridgement,) and of whom also was [c] Simon that bore Christ's cross, at his crucifixion, and others that are mentioned [d] in the Acts of the Apostles.

Antipater, being worn out with age, [e] died in Macedonia, and, at his death, appointed Polysperchon, who was the oldest of Alexander's captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the kings, and governor of Macedonia, in his stead; which Cassander resented with great indignation: for he could not bear that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust; and therefore he

Anno 319. Philip 5.

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[y] Agatharcides ap. Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apion. Vide etiam Aristeam.

[z] 1 Maccab. ii. 41.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. Aristeas.

[b] 2 Maccab. i.

[c] Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

[d] Chap. ii. 10. & vi. 9.

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Phocione.

forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in Greece and Macedon, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of all this design, he sent to Ptolemy and Antigonus, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was, to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten; and that of the other was, to possess himself of all Asia; and they thought, if the Macedonians were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them, with the greater ease, obtain their designs. For no sooner was Antipater dead, but Antigonus, finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all Alexander's captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all: for he was left by Antipater generalissimo of all the Lesser Asia, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of 70,000 men, besides 30 elephants; which was a force which no other power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove Aridæus out of his government of the Lesser Phrygia and Hellespont, and Clitus out of that of Lydia, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the Lesser Asia. But his greatest difficulty was to master Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had then been for a whole year shut up and besieged by him in the castle of Nora. And therefore [f] he would make trial again to draw him over to him, and sent his countryman Jerom of Cardia, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose; with whom Eumenes managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time, when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that Antigonus intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby Eumenes was to swear to it being according to the form sent by Antigonus, that he

[f] Plut. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diod. ibid.

should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Antigonus, he altered the form, putting it, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Olympias, and the kings, as well as to Antigonus, and then referred it to the Macedonians that lay at the siege, to judge which form was properest; who, still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore Eumenes having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege, and departed. But when Antigonus had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately dispatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution: for Eumenes, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the fortress, and, with the 500 men that bore the siege with him, marched into Cappadocia, and there got together of his old soldiers about 2000 more, and made all other preparations for the war which he knew would be again renewed against him.

In the interim, [g] the defection of Antigonus from the interest of the kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, from Polysperchon their guardian, constituting him captain-general of all the Lesser Asia, with orders to Teutamus and Antigenes, commanders of the Argyraspides, to join with him, and, under his command, to make war against Antigonus. And those who had the keeping of the king's treasures were commanded every where to supply him with money for this war. And letters were sent every where from Olympias to the same purpose. Hereon Eumenes set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But before he could get together an army sufficient for it, Menander, one of Antigonus' captains, coming upon him into Cappadocia, with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste with only 3000 men that he had then about him. But having, by long marches, gotten over Mount Taurus into the country of Cilicia, he was there met by the Argyraspides, who, according to the orders received from the kings, joined with him, they being in number about 3000 men. These were the remainders of the old soldiers of Alexander, by whom he had won all his

[g] Diod. Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ibid.

victories; and he having given them, [h] when they marched with him into India, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the Argyraspides, *i. e. the silver shielded* (for so that name signified in the Greek language.) And they were eminent, above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, Eumenes could do no more at that time than enter into winter quarters with them in that country.

While he lay there, [i] he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who, being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commissions so successfully, that, in the ensuing spring, he took the field with an army of 20,000 men, horse and foot; which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore Ptolemy, for the crushing of him, came with a fleet upon the coasts of Cilicia, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the Argyraspides from him; and Antigonus endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into Eumenes' camp for this purpose. But both miscarried herein: for Eumenes carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him. Anno 318. Philip 6.

And therefore, having his army thus firmly fixed to him, [k] he marched with them into Syria and Phœnicia, to dispossess Ptolemy of these provinces, which, against all right, he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and Polysperchon by sea: for, could he have gotten the naval strength of the Phœnicians into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of Polysperchon, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require: and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of Polysperchon being, through the folly of Clitus who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by Antigonus, this baffled the whole project. For Antigonus, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army

[h] Justin. lib. 12. c. 7. Quintus Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5.
[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene.
[k] Diodor. Sic. ibid.

to find out Eumenes, and fall upon him; of which Eumenes having received intelligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as Antigonus was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming; but forthwith withdrew out of Phœnicia, and, marching through Cœle-Syria, passed the Euphrates, and wintered at Carrhæ and Mesopotamia. This was [l] the ancient Charan, or Harran of the holy scriptures, where Abraham dwelt before he came into the land of Canaan, and where, after that Nahor, the brother of Abraham, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations. And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendered famous for the [m] great battle there fought between the Romans and the Parthians, wherein the former received that signal overthrow, in which Crassus, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The Turks now call it [n] Harran by the old name; and it was, in late ages famous for [n] being the prime seat of the Sabians, a noted sect in the East, of which I have above spoken. Hence those of this sect were called Harranites, as well as Sabians, in those parts.

Eumenes, while he lay at Carrhæ, [o] sent to Pithon governor of Media, and Seleucus governor of Babylon, to join with him, for the aiding of the kings against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of Eumenes: for the intention of most of Alexander's commanders, who, after his death, had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns each in the country which he had seized; and it was with a view to this, that, on the death of Alexander, they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him, that, under so weak a government, they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and all these measures they

Anno 317. Philip 7.

[l] Gen. xi. 31, 32. chap. xii. 4. & xxix. 4.

[m] Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthicis. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747.

[n] Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250.

[o] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

thought would be broken, if Eumenes got the ascendant; and therefore all of them that were for these measures were against him. But, whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of Alexander, is uncertain. His professions always were for the family of Alexander, and, whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But this much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all Alexander's captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; though he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

From Carrhæ [p] Eumenes marched, in the beginning of the spring, towards Babylon; in which march he had like to have lost all his army, by a stratagem of Seleucus upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the Euphrates, Seleucus, by cutting the banks of the river, over-flooded the place where he lay. But Eumenes, having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and, the next day after, having found out a way again to drain off the overflowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it: whereon Seleucus prayed truce with them, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to Susa, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of Asia to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them the speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against Pithon, governor of Media, which they had just then finished. For Pithon, playing the same game in those provinces of the Upper Asia that Antigonus did in the Lower, had put Philotas to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself. Which being discerned, they all joined, under the command of Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battle, they drove him out

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

of Media, and forced him to fly to Babylon, to crave of Seleucus the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when Eumenes' messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to Susa, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about 25,000 men, horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for Antigonus, who was then on his march after him; but, the year being far advanced before he could reach the Tigris, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in Mesopotamia, where Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

In the interim [q] a great change happened in Macedonia. For Olympias, the mother of Alexander, having formerly fled out of Macedonia into Epirus, with Alexander her grandson, and Roxana his mother, for fear of Antipater, now after his death was again returned, and, having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put Aridæus, the nominal king (whom they call Philip,) to death, with Eurydice his wife, after he had borne the title of king six years and seven months: and with him she slew also Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents: which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after; for then Cassander, coming upon her with an army, besieged her in Pydna, and, having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterwards caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of Aridæus, Alexander, the son of Roxana, alone bore the title of king, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jail: for Cassander, after he had taken Pydna, shut up him and his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, till at length he murdered them both, to make way for himself to be king of Macedon; as will hereafter, in its proper place, be more fully related.

Antigonus, in the beginning of the spring, [r] marched to Babylon, where, having joined the forces which Pithon and Seleucus had there got ready for him, he passed the Tigris to find out Eumenes; and, on the other hand, Eumenes was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter him, being now superior to him in the

Anno 316. Alexander Ægus I.

[q] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 19. Justin. lib. 14.

[r] Diodor. ibid. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene.

number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct: not that the other was defective herein; for, next Eumenes, he was certainly the best general and the wisest politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which Eumenes lay under, was, he commanded a volunteer army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces, who had joined him, and every one of these would have the general command; and Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, there was not one of them but thought himself, for this reason, preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and shewed him a royal pavilion richly furnished with a throne in it, and told him, that, if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings upon which they should enter in his name; and, having wrought the superstition which they had for Alexander into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and, placing a crown and sceptre in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of Alexander, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior; which quelled all farther strife about this matter: for hereby a priority was yielded to none, and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However, the army had that confidence in the great abilities of Eumenes, that, in time of battle, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And, by the wisdom of his management, he brought it to pass in all other cases, that though in outward shew he seemed to wave all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And, the royal command to all the keepers of the public treasuries being to give out unto Eumenes all such sums as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else; for hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them; which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties, when this year's war was begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all Media and Persia became

the field of it: for they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other, and all manner of stratagems and trials of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But Eumenes having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour: for he had worsted Antigonus in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and, when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of Gabiene, and forced Antigonus to march northward, to seek for his in the country of Media, at the distance of 25 days march from him.

But the licentiousness of Eumenes' soldiers being such, [s] that they would not be kept together, but, for the sake of a more luxurious plenty, scattered themselves over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody. Antigonus, on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute victory over him. But Eumenes, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of Antigonus some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a stratagem, which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost. For getting up upon those mountains which lay towards the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them, the next night, to kindle fires in such manner as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by Antigonus' scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that Eumenes was there with all his army ready to encounter him; and therefore, not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh army, he stopped so long to refresh them, that Eumenes had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after, this brought on a battle be-

Anno 315. Alexander Ægus 2.

[s] Diodor. Sic. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos, ibid.

tween them, wherein Eumenes got the victory; which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance: of which Antigonus taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of Eumenes' army, before they could be perceived; whereby he gained the main point though he lost the victory. For Eumenes' soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore, having seized and bound him, sold him to Antigonus to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him; which absolutely determined the war for the interest of Antigonus; for immediately hereon he became master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the river of Indus. Eumenes being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him, he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under Alexander. The remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life; and Demetrius his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length, reflecting on his immoveable fidelity to Alexander's family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account, and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life, and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of Alexander, but in every thing else far exceeded him: for he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle which he fought with Antigonus in Cappadocia; and by this means only was it that he was at last undone in Gabiena. After his death Antigonus, with all his army, in the solemnest manner, attended his funeral pile,

and shewed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into Cappadocia. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it shewed, that, even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit as deserved a much better fate.

Antigonus [t] now looking on the whole empire of Asia as his own, for the better securing of it to him, made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead, and such as he thought dangerous he cut off. Of this number were Pithon, governor of Media and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides: and he had marked out Seleucus, governor of Babylon, for the same destruction; but he, being aware of it, fled into Egypt, and there, under the protection of Ptolemy, saved his life. And as to the Argyraspides, who were those that betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to Sibyrtius, the governor of it, by all ways and means, to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into Greece. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

In the interim, [u] Seleucus being got safe into Egypt, he so effectually represented to Ptolemy the formidable power of Antigonus, as he also did to Lysimachus and Cassander, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. Antigonus being aware that Seleucus, on his flight, might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastened out of the East into Cilicia; and, having there taken care for the recruiting and reinforcing of his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of Lesser Asia as best

[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian in Syriacis.

[u] Diodor. & Appian. ibid. Justin. lib. 15.

suited with his interest, he marched thence into Syria and Phœnicia.

His [x] intentions, in entering into these provinces, were to dispossess Ptolemy of them, and make himself master of their naval force; for, finding that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright, that, without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the Phœnician ports and shipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, Ptolemy having carried away all the Phœnician shipping into Egypt before his arrival: neither did he easily make himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but Tyre endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from Mount Libanus, and causing them to be carried to the several ports where the ships were a-building; in which works several thousands of hands were employed: and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which soon gave him the mastery of the seas. That which chiefly egged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet, was an affront offered him by Seleucus: for while he lay encamped near Tyre on this sea shore, Seleucus came thither with 100 sail of Ptolemy's fleet, and Antigonus, not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the coast where he was encamped, in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army; which very much disheartening his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and did let them know, that even that very summer he would be on those seas, with a fleet of 500 sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

Anno 314. Alexander Ægus 3.

But Antigonus finding, that, while he was intent upon

[x] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

these affairs in Phœnicia, Cassander grew upon him in the Lesser Asia, [y] he marched thither with one part of his army, and left Demetrius, his son (then a young man, not exceeding the 22d year of his age,) with the other part, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. By this time Tyre was reduced to great extremities: for Antigonus' fleet being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them; which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of Ptolemy to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For Andronicus, who then commanded at the siege for Antigonus, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege; for it lasted (as I have already said) 15 months. It was but 19 years before that Alexander had destroyed this city in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself; yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of Alexander's. This shews the great advantage of trade: for this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the East and West did then center, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

Antigonus [z] on his coming into Lesser Asia, soon reduced the growing power of Cassander, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but, after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to Ptolemy and Seleucus for assistance; and went on with the war; which detained Antigonus longer in those parts than he intended, and, in the interim, gave Ptolemy the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the East.

For [a] having with his fleet sailed to Cyprus, he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent first upon the Upper Syria, and next upon Cilicia; where having taken great spoils, and many captives, he returned with them into Egypt; and there, having, by the advice of Seleucus, formed a design for

Anno 312. Alexander Ægus 5.

[y] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

[z] Diodor. ibid. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

[a] Diodor. ibid. Plutarch. in Demetrio. Justin, lib. 15. c. 1. Hecatæus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem. lib. 1.

the recovery of Phœnicia and Syria, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to Gaza, he there found Demetrius ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them: in which Ptolemy gained the victory, having slain 5000 of Demetrius' men, and taken 8000 captive; which forced Demetrius to retreat, first to Azotus, and from thence to Tripoly, a city of Phœnicia, as far back, as the confines of the Upper Syria, and quit all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, to the victor. But, before he left Azotus, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, Ptolemy not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents, and furniture, with all his friends, family, and servants, without any ransom; which kindness Demetrius had the opportunity of returning, when, a while after he got the like advantage of Ptolemy. All the other captives he sent into Egypt, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the sea coast of Phœnicia forthwith surrendered to him, excepting only Tyre: for Andronicus, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time. But, at length the garrison-soldiers falling into a mutiny against him, delivered the place to Ptolemy, and him with it.

After these successes,[b] Seleucus, having obtained of Ptolemy 1000 foot, and 300 horse, marched eastward with them to recover Babylon. With so small a force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the Macedonians that were there in garrison to join with him. And, as soon as he drew near to Babylon, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him: for remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of Antigonus, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him reinstated in his former command over them; and therefore, on his approach to the city, he found the gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those who were of the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but Seleucus, having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress; and with it again received his children, friends, and servants, whom, on his flight into Egypt, Antigonus had there

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Appian. in Syriacis.

shut up in prison; and then applied himself to get together such an army as might enable him to keep what he had gotten: for he had not long been in possession of this city, ere Nicanor (who was governor of Media for Antigonus) put himself upon the march with an army to drive him thence. Seleucus, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the Tigris to meet him, and, having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon Nicanor, with some few of his friends, fled through the deserts to Antigonus, and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of Antigonus, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby, having gotten a great army under him, he seized Media, Susiana, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts; which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity, and humanity, which he practised towards all that were under it; and, by these means, from so low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors.

From this retaking of Babylon by Seleucus,[c] began the famous æra of the Seleucidæ, made use of all over the East, by Heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. It is called by the Jews,[d] the *æra of contracts*, because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that, till a thousand years after Christ, they had no other way, whereby to compute their time, but this *æra of contracts* only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the East, they continued in the eastern usage of computing by the *æra of contracts* (as they called it;) but, when, about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the East, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The

[c] Vide Scaliger Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque chronolog. de hac æra.

[d] Vide Vorstii Zemach David. p. 61. & Dissertationem R. Azariæ apud eundem in Observationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247, 248, &c

first year of this æra, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian period, 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to Scaliger's computation was 189 years, and according to others, 249 years higher up than where this æra of the Jews placeth it. However, the *æra of contracts* is not at this time out of use among those people: for they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The Arabs call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The Æra of the Two-horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from Alexander, [e] who is, in the Alcorn and other Arabic books, frequently called *The two-horned*. And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of Jupiter Hammon: for that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams' horns on his head, Alexander might cause himself to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his son. But this æra hath no relation to Alexander, although it hath been, by some, ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The æra of Alexander*: for Alexander was dead twelve years before it began, and its commencement only was from the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this Arabic name. *Taric Dilcarnain*, from Seleucus: and [f] Appian gives us in him a sufficient reason for it; for he tells us, that Seleucus being a person of that great strength, that, laying hold of a bull by the horn, he could stop him in his full career, the staturies for this reason usually made his statutes with two bulls' horns on his head. And therefore it is most likely, that he, and not Alexander, was first meant by *the two-horned* in the Arabic name of this æra: for it was from him, and not from Alexander, that it had its origin. It is, in the books of the Maccabees, [g] called *The æra of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But, whereas the first book of the Maccabees begins the years of this æra from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and others that anciently did, or now do use this æra, excepting the Chaldeans. For they, not reckoning Seleucus to be

[e] Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57, 58. et Alfraganum ipsum, c. 1. § De Æris, p. 6.

[f] In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amstelodami, p. 201.

[g] 1 Maccab. i. 10.

thoroughly settled in the possession of Babylon, till the spring in which Demetrius made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this æra till from that spring, and, for the same reason, reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that, whereas all other nations that computed by this æra, began it from the autumn of the year before Christ 312, it had not its commencement among the Chaldeans till from the spring of the year next after following.

In the interim, [h] Ptolemy having again made himself master of all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, sent Cilles, one of his generals, to take possession of the Upper Syria also, and drive Demetrius thence, who was then retreated thither. But Cilles, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, Demetrius, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march, came upon him before he was aware, and, surprising him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and 7000 of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at Gaza, again balanced the matter between him and Ptolemy; and also put it in the power of Demetrius (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to Ptolemy of the kindness he had before received from him: for, after this victory, he sent back unto him Cilles, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as Ptolemy had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at Gaza.

Antigonus, [i] receiving an account at Celenæ, in Phrygia, (where he then resided) of this victory of his son's over Cilles, hastened thence into Syria, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and, having passed Mount Taurus, joined his son in the Upper Syria: whereon Ptolemy, finding himself not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled Acé, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza, and retreated again into Egypt, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of the inhabitants of the country. Whereon all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, returned again under the power of Antigonus.

The [k] inhabitants of those countries, whom Ptolemy car-

[h] Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarch in Demetrio.
[i] Diodor. et Plutarch. ibid.
[k] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. et contra Apion. lib. 1, & 2.

ried with him into Egypt on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion: for he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shewn great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange country, than tarry the coming of Antigonus in their own (from whom they expected a contrary treatment;) and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by Ptolemy, to invite them to this removal: for his mind being then much set upon the making of Alexandria to be the capital of Egypt, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here Ptolemy planted all those that followed him in this retreat; among whom were a great number of the Jews. [l] Alexander had planted several of that nation there before; and Ptolemy after his first irruption into Judea, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoyed the benefit of a plentiful country, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into Judea, excited in many others there a desire to follow them; and accordingly many did so on this occasion: for Alexander had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with his Macedonians; and Ptolemy had continued the same to them. By which means the Jewish quarter in that city increased to the number of several thousands of families; and many [m] Samaritans as well as Jews, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

Among those who followed Ptolemy into Egypt on this occasion, one was [n] Hezekias, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests. Hecatæus, the historian, being then with Ptolemy, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learned from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the

[l] Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2.
[m] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1.
[n] Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1.

Jews, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this Hezekias had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of Moses. And I doubt not it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the Jews and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them: for [o] he composed a particular history of the Jews, therein treating of them from Abraham down to his time; in which he speaks so honourably of them, and their religion, that [p] Origen tells us, Herennius Philo, [q] an heathen writer, who flourished about the time of Trajan, the Roman emperor, did, for this reason, raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of Hecatæus or no; making this inference from hence concerning it, That either it was composed by some Jew under the name of Hecatæus, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the Jewish religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (though I see no necessity for it,) the latter is as possible as the other. This [r] Hecatæus was of Abdera, a Grecian city in Thrace, which had been famous for the birth of Democritus, Protagoras, and other learned men. He was bred up with Alexander, and followed him in all his wars, and, after his death, put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and lived with him in Egypt; where having, from the conversation which he had with this learned Jew, and others of that nation, who followed Ptolemy thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them, which I have mentioned; out of which Josephus hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against Apion. But the book itself is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name; but he was a Milesian, and lived long before, in the time of Darius Hystaspes.

Josephus tells us of another Jew, called Mosollam, who, about this time, followed Ptolemy, and had listed himself an horseman in his army; and, out of the same Hecatæus, gives us a very remarkable story of him. The words of Hecatæus

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[o] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7. & contra Apion. lib. 1.

[p] Contra Celsum. lib. 1.

[q] Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 2. c. 10.

[r] Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 1. c. 10.

[s] Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

are as followeth. "As I was travelling towards the Red sea, "there was in company with us a certain Jew, called Mosol- "lam, one of a Jewish troop of horse that was sent to be our "convoy, a very valiant man, and remarkable for his great "skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the Greeks "and Barbarians of his time. As several of us were travelling [illegible]n in this journey together, a certain sooth-sayer, who took [illegible]pon him to foretel the fortune of our journey, bade us all "stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked us what "we stood for. Look ye, answered the cunning man, and "shewed him a bird. If that bird stands, said he, ye are to "stand; and if he riseth and flies on, ye are to go forward "too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you "must all go back again. The Jew hereat, without a word "speaking, lets fly an arrow, and kills the bird; whereon "the diviner, and some of the company, had great indigna- "tion, and fell on him in most outrageous terms. Why, "certainly, saith the Jew to them, are ye not all mad to make "such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor "wretched creature pretend to foreshew us our fortune, that "knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foretold "good or evil to come, it would have kept out of this place, "for fear of being slain by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew." Thus far Hecatæus, who, it is plain, tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

Ant. Chr. 312. Anno 311. Alexander Ægus 6.

Antigonus, having thus recovered all Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, out of the hands of Ptolemy, [t] sent Athe- næus, one of his lieutenants, with an army, against the Nabathæan Arabs. They, being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them, and, to be revenged of them for it, Antigonus sent these forces against them. The chief city of those Arabs was Petra; which, standing on an high rock in the deserts, was from thence called by the Greeks Petra, by the Hebrews [u] Sela, and, by the Arabs, Hagar: for [x] Hagar signifieth the same in Arabic, that Sela doth in Hebrew, and Petra in Greek, that

[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.
[u] Isaiah xvi. 1. 2 Kings xiv. 7.
[x] Vide Bocharti Geograph. Sacram, part 1. lib. 4. c. 27.

is, a *rock*, and hence it is that St. Paul [y] calls Mount Sinai Hagar; for that was all a rocky mountain, which, beginning at the Red sea, runs a great way into Arabia; and on part of it the city of Petra was built. There [z] being a certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood, the Nabathæans having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods, under a guard at Petra, were gone to this mart. Athenæus craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches, [illegible] to Petra in their absence, and, having surprised the place, slew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but, not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy, having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and, falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only 50 horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this, returning to Petra, they from thence wrote letters to Antigonus in the Syriac language, accusing Athenæus of the wrong he had done them. To which Antigonus, temporising with the present necessity, returned such an answer as disowned the enterprise of Athenæus, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But, as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he [a] sent his son Demetrius with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers which the other failed of. Who, having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But, his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the country; which immediately brought them all together to Petra, where they having left a strong garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the deserts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that Demetrius, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and, after a march of 300 furlongs (which is about 36 of our miles,) he came to the lake Asphaltites, and there encamped. This was also called by some the sea of Sodom,

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y In the Epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv. ver. 25.

z Diodor. ibid. a Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. ibid.

by others the Dead sea, and in scripture [b] the Salt sea. It was called the sea of Sodom, because there Sodom once stood; the Dead sea, because it is a stagnated water without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be found; the Salt sea, because of its exceeding saltness; and Asphaltites from the Greek word [c] Asphaltus, which signifieth *bitumen*; [d] which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the Greeks and Latins called it. At present, the adjacent inhabitants [e] call it the lake of Lot. It [f] extends, from north to south, about 70 of our miles in length, and is about 18 miles over in the broadest place. On the east side of it anciently lay the land of Moab, and on the west side that part of the land of Canaan which was the portion of the tribe of Judah; and, towards the south, it abbutted upon the land of Edom. The rivers Jordan and Arnon run into it at the north end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but, like the Caspian sea, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea or lake of Tiberias (called [g] the sea of Galilee, and [h] the lake of Genezaret in the gospels,) on which our Saviour was so conversant; for that, as it receiveth the river Jordan at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the lake Asphaltites, it is there absorbed, and no more heard of. Demetrius, on his encamping on this lake, [i] observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the bitumen which it yielded, gave Antigonus an account of it on his return. Antigonus, though no way pleased with the peace which he had made with the Nabathæans, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the bitumen of this lake, and immediately sent thither Jerom the Cardian to take care of it. But when he had, according to his instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the bitumen of the lake to carry it all

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[b] Gen. xiv. 3. Numb. xxxiv. 3. 12. Deut. iii. 17. Josh. iii. 16.

[c] Ασφαλτος.

[d] Plin. lib. 5. c. 16.

[e] Baudandri Geographia, sub voce Asphaltites.

[f] See Maundrel's Journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's Travels, part 1. book 2. c. 41.

[g] Matth. iv. 18. xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1.

[h] Luke v. 1.

[i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of Antigonus, the Arabs, to the number of 6000 men, fell upon him, and, having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This [k] Jerom, being a fellow-citizen of Eumenes, followed his party to the time of his death; but, being then taken prisoner by Antigonus, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this, he was [l] governor of Syria for Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus: for he lived to a great age, [m] being 104 years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he served. He wrote the history of Alexander, and his successors, and their posterity down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and beyond it: but though he had lived long in Syria and Phœnicia, first under Antigonus, and afterwards under Seleucus, and Antiochus his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the Jews, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them; yet he passeth them over in a total silence, not speaking as much as one word of them; for which he is [n] faulted by Josephus, as if his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

Antigonus, receiving an account from Nicanor of the successes of Seleucus in the East, [o] sent Demetrius his son with an army to Babylon to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the maritime parts of Lesser Asia, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to Babylon. Demetrius, according to his father's order, having gathered together his forces at Damascus, marched thence to Babylon; and, Seleucus being then absent in Media, he entered that city without opposition. For

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[k] Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1. c. 11.

[l] Josephus contra Apion. lib. 1. Where observe, the translators here put Antigonus instead of Antiochus, by a wrong variation from the Greek text.

[m] Lucianus de Longævis.

[n] Lib. 1. contra Apion.

[o] Diodor. lib. 10. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

Patrocles, whom Seleucus had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter Demetrius, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens; where, being surrounded with rivers, ditches, and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessibleness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the Tigris, and others retreating into the deserts, and others into other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retired. Demetrius, finding the city deserted laid siege to the castles; for there were two of them in that city, well garrisoned, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the Euphrates, and the other on the other side, just over against it. One of these he took, and, having expelled the garrison of Seleucus, placed one of his own in it of 7000 men. The other held out till the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore, leaving Archelaus, one of his principal commanders, with 1000 horse, and 5000 foot, to continue the siege, he marched back with the rest of his army into Lesser Asia, to the assistance of his father, having first plundered the whole province of Babylon of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from Antigonus, and firmly united them to Seleucus and his interest ever after. For even those who had till then been for Antigonus, concluding that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with Seleucus, and all went without any farther reserve, entirely over to his interest. So that, on his returning to Babylon, after the retreat of Demetrius, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle which he had garrisoned, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the Babylonians began the epocha of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

Demetrius, [p] on his return into Lesser Asia, having raised the siege of Halicarnassus, which was besieged by Ptolemy, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated

[p] Diodor. et Plutarch. ibid.

princes and Antigonus; in which it was agreed, that Cassander should have the command of all in Macedonia, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, should be grown up; that Lysimachus should have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt, and the adjacent parts of Lybia and Arabia; and Antigonus all Asia; and that all the Grecian cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long; for many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of Antigonus; and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

Alexander, the son of Roxana, being grown up to the 14th year of his age, [q] Cassander thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer: for, he being resolved to seize the kingdom of Macedon for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of Amphipolis, where he had for several years shut him up, and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However Ptolemy in his canon, continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner, as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of Alexander among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of.

Anno 310. Alexander Ægus 7.

Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, hearing of the death of Roxana and her son, [r] laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against Cassander for the fact, accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the Macedonians against him. All this he pretended to do out his zeal and affection for the house of Alexander; and, to make the greater shew hereof, he sent for Hercules the other son of Alexander, which he had by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and, having gotten him and his mother to him from Pergamus, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the Macedonians the instating of him in his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying Cassander, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms, and, when he had gained

[q] Diodor. lib. 19. Pausanias in Bœoticis.
[r] Diodor. lib. 20. Pausanias in Bœoticis.

those terms, having obtained all that he proposed for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by Cassander to cut off this son of Alexander's also. And therefore, the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner, as Cassander had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that, after their death, they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

Ptolemy [s] having renewed the war against Antigonus, for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in Cilicia and elsewhere. But Demetrius soon dispossessed him again of all in Cilicia; and other of Antigonus' lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in Cyprus, Ptolemy having, by cutting off of Nicocles, king of Paphos, extinguished all the interest that Antigonus had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

This year [t] Epicurus, being 32 years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy. He first taught it at Mitylene in the isle of Lesbus, and afterwards at Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and after that at Athens, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the 37th year of his age, and there kept his school in a garden, till the 63d year of his age, in which he died. According to him, all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted, by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also, that there is no future state; but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here, is the highest good that man is capable of; and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, though our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon Epicurus' philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of

[s] Diodor. ibid.

[t] Laertius in Vita Epicuri. See Stanley's History of Philosophy, part 13.

this impious school have sprung the Sadducees of the Jews, the Zendichees of the Arabs, and the Deists of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther, than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state: for they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore they received the law of Moses, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go through-stitch with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

Anno 309. Alexander Ægus 8.

Ptolemy, to make himself amends for his losses in Cilicia, [u] invaded Pamphylia and Lycia, and other maritime parts of Asia, and divested Antigonus of Phaselis, Caunus, Mindus, and several other cities which he before held on those coasts.

Anno 308. Alexander Ægus 9.

And then, [x] sailing into the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago, he took in the island of Andrus; and from thence passing to the continent, there possessed himself of Sicyon, Corinth, and several other places. While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondency with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. She was the same that was married to Alexander king of Epirus, at the time when her father Philip was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in Italy) lived a widow, and, for several years past, had her residence at Sardis in Lydia; but being there ill used by Antigonus, under whose power that city was, Ptolemy took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with Antigonus. But, when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, Antigonus' lieutenant, who governed for him at Sardis, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her, a little after, by the order of Antigonus, privately to be put to death. Whereon Antigonus, coming himself to Sardis, condemned to death those women of her retinue by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts which they are contrived to disown, and rather increase

[u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

[x] Diod. Sic. ibid.

than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But Antigonus, being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever; and therefore, according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every person, was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till, at length, that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it: and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses.

Ophellas, prince of Lybia and Cyrene, [y] being slain by Agathocles king of Sicily, Ptolemy again recovered these provinces. Ophellas was a soldier of Alexander's, and, after his death, followed the fortune of Ptolemy, and went with him into Egypt. From thence he was sent by him to reduce Libya and Cyrene to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to Ptolemy, as well as Egypt and Arabia, on the division of the empire; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for Ptolemy of these countries, he seized them for himself; and Ptolemy's other engagements, against Antigonus and Demetrius, not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But Agathocles being now in Africa making war against the Carthaginians, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited Ophellas into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the empire of all Africa for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by Ophellas; and therefore having gotten together an army of 20,000 men, after a long march, he joined Agathocles with them in the territories of the Carthaginians. But the wicked tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off Ophellas, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him, I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to shew how Ptolemy after this again recovered the provinces of Libya, and Cyrene: for Ophellas being thus

Anno 370. Alexander Ægus 10.

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 22. c 7.

slain, and this ill-projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of Ptolemy, without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of Egypt for several ages after. And, under the protection of those princes, the colony of the Jews, which had been there planted by this first Ptolemy (as hath been above mentioned) increased, and grew to a great number. For, [z] in the time of Vespasian, no fewer than 3000 of them were put to death in that country for one mutiny; and yet, within a few years after, [a] under the reign of Trajan, they mastered the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above 200,000 persons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This Ophellas [b] had for his wife Eurydice, a fair Athenian lady, of the descendents of Miltiades. On the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius, meeting her the next year after, fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

For Demetrius [c] came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of Greece; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of Cassander, and depress his power in those parts; which having fully effected by driving Demetrius Phalereus out of that city, he returned again to his father.

Anno 306. Alexander Ægus 11.

This Demetrius Phalereus [d] had governed Athens under Cassander 10 years. And never were the Athenians under a [e] more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness than while he presided over them; and, in acknowledgement hereof, they erected for him [f] as many statues in that city, as there were days in the year; and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place: and of all this, and much more, was he well deserving: for he was

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[z] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 31.

[a] Xephilin. in Trajano.

[b] Plut. in Demetrio.

[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Plut. in Demet.

[d] Laertius in Vita Demet. Phalerei. Diod. Sic. lib. 18.

[e] Cic. de Legibus, lib. 2. & in Oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3. c. 17.

[f] Laer. ibid. Plin. lib. 34. c. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Corn. Nep. in Miltiade. Plut. in Libro de Reipublicæ Gerendæ Præceptis.

not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice, and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to Cassander, and, after his death, went into Egypt to Ptolemy, and is said there [g] to have had the chief management of Ptolemy's library, and to have procured for it that translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek which we now call the Septuagint; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

Demetrius, on his return from Athens, [h] was sent by his father with a great fleet and army, to dispossess Ptolemy of the island of Cyprus; and therefore, sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at Carpasia: and, having taken that city and Urania, he marched to Salamine, the capital of the whole island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who was then chief commander for him in Cyprus, being at that time with most of his forces in Salamine, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but, being overborne by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of 1000 of his men slain, and 3000 taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence Ptolemy, having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes; in which Demetrius having obtained the victory, Ptolemy was forced to take his flight back into Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror: whereon the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, that Ptolemy had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about 17,000 men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus, the brother, and Leontiscus the son of Ptolemy, being among the captives, Demetrius sent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shewn him by Ptolemy after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much increased his military strength both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

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[g] Arrist. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

[h] Plut. in Demet. Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Just. lib. 15. c. 2.

Antigonus, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth [i] affirmed the title of king, and wore a crown, and sent another crown to Demetrius, and gave the title of king to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings: which the Egyptians hearing of, that Ptolemy, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title. This example being followed by Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, they also about the same time assumed the title of kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

By this time Seleucus [k] was grown very great in the East. For, having slain Nicanor in battle, who was sent against him by Antigonus, he not only secured to himself hereby Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but, carrying his arms farther, reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the other provinces on this side the Indus, which Alexander had before made himself master of.

Anno 305. Alexander Ægus 12.

Antigonus to [l] pursue the blow which Demetrius had given Ptolemy in Cyprus, drew together into Syria an army of near 100,000 men for the invading of Egypt, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him as he had at Cyprus, and so dispossess him of that country also. While he marched thither with his bulky army, Demetrius his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both to Gaza; where, having concerted matters between them, Demetrius sailed to make a descent upon the country at one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that Antigonus passed the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, and, when he was arrived in Egypt, he found much greater. And Demetrius met with no less at sea; for storms had much shattered his fleet, and Ptolemy had so well guarded all the mouths of the Nile, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them. Neither could Antigonus make any better progress with his army at land: for Ptolemy had so carefully provided against him in

[i] Plutarch. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.

[k] Appian. in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, & 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4.

[l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where, and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For Ptolemy having sent boats to several places on the river, where Antigonus' soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from Antigonus' army, if he were a common soldier, he should have [m] two minas, and if a commander, [n] a talent: whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to Ptolemy; for Antigonus being a crabbed [o] old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, Ptolemy, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his humane and courteous carriage, to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. Antigonus, therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the outskirts of Egypt, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on Ptolemy, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into Syria with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon Ptolemy wrote to Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, of his success; and, having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore Ptolemy the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of Alexander Ægus, though he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of Ptolemy, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new epocha after that to go by, which took its beginning from the 7th day of November, 19 years after the death of Alexander.

The [p] Rhodians subsisting chiefly by their trade with

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[m] About six pounds five shillings of our money.

[n] About one hundred eighty-eight pounds of our money.

[o] He was now about 80 years old.

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

Anno 304. Ptolemy Soter 1.

Egypt, for this reason adhered to the interest of Ptolemy; and, when sent to by Antigonus for the assistance of some of their shipping in the Cyprian war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. Antigonus, therefore, as soon as the Egyptian expedition was over, sent Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to reduce that island to his obedience. But, after a year's time spent in the siege of Rhodes, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they should associate with Antigonus in all his wars, except only against Ptolemy. For it being chiefly by the assistance of Ptolemy that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him: and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon about it, they consecrated unto him a grove, and, for his greater honour, made it a very sumptuous work: for, it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately portico on every side, and, from his name called it the Ptolemæum; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they paid divine honours unto him; and, in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, [q] they gave him the additional name of Soter, that is, the saviour; by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other Ptolemys that after reigned in that country.

Anno 303. Ptolemy Soter 2.

Seleucus, having secured himself in the possession of all the countries from the Euphrates to the river Indus, [r] made war upon Sandrocottus for the making of himself master of India also. This Sandrocottus [s] was an Indian by birth, and of a very mean original: but giving out that he would deliver his country from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence, got together an army, and, by degrees, having increased it to a great number, took the advantage, while Alexander's successors were engaged in war against other, to expel the Macedonians

[q] Pausan. in Atticis.

[r] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4. Appian. in Syriacis.

[s] Justin. Diodor. Appian. ibid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5.

out of all those Indian provinces which Alexander had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces, Seleucus marched over the Indus; but, finding that Sandrocottus had by this time brought all India under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of 600,000 men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power; and therefore, coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that, on his receiving from Sandrocottus 500 of his elephants, he should, on that consideration, quit to him all his pretensions in India; and on these terms peace was made between them. And Seleucus, having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against Antigonus; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this peace with Sandrocottus.

For [t] Demetrius, after he had ended his war with the Rhodians, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into Greece, under the same pretence of freeing the Grecian cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of Ptolemy and Cassander in those parts, and there dispossessed Ptolemy of Sicyon, Corinth, and most of the other places which he held in Greece; and pressed so hard upon Cassander, that he was forced to sue to him for peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of Antigonus, he and Lysimachus, having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the designs of Antigonus were to suppress all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his overgrowing power. And therefore Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastened Seleucus out of India back again into Assyria, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the Hellespont. For Cassander and Lysimachus having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that, while the former remained in Europe to make a stand against Demetrius in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared from both their

Anno 302. Ptolemy Soter 5.

[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demet. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4.

territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. And accordingly Lysimachus passed the Hellespont with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the countries from the Propontis to the river Meander, under his power. Antigonus was at Antigonia, a new city built by him in the upper Syria, and was there celebrating solemn games which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and, dismissing the assembly, forthwith set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and, as soon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in those parts, he hastened with them over Mount Taurus into Cilicia; and having, at Quinda, in that province, taken out of the public treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. Lysimachus, not finding himself strong enough to encounter Antigonus, stood upon the defensive only, till Seleucus and Ptolemy should come up to his assistance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter-quarters.

In the beginning of the next year, [u] Seleucus, having gotten together a great army at Babylon, marched thence into Cappadocia, for the pursuing of the war against Antigonus. Of which Antigonus having notice, sent for Demetrius out of Greece to his assistance: who, immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to Ephesus, and recovered again that city to Antigonus, and many other adjacent places, which, on the coming of Lysimachus into Asia, had revolted from him.

Anno 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

Ptolemy, on Antigonus' leaving Syria, took the advantage of his absence to invade that country, and soon recovered again all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, excepting only Tyre and Sidon, which, being well garrisoned, held out against him for Antigonus. For the reduction of them, he first laid siege to Sidon; but, as he was carrying of it on, being informed that Antigonus had beaten Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he

[u] Diodor. & Plutarch. ibid. Appian. in Syriacis.

suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report; and therefore, forthwith making a truce with the Sidonians for five months, raised the siege, and returned into Egypt.

In the mean time, the forces of the confederated princes being got together, under the command of Seleucus and Lysimachus on the one hand, and Demetrius having joined Antigonus on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battle, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in Phrygia called Ipsus; in which Antigonus being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. Antigonus was past 80 years old, some say past 84, when he thus fell. Demetrius, finding the battle lost, and his father slain, made his escape to Ephesus, with 5000 foot and 4000 horse, which were all the remains which he could pick up of near 90,000 men, with which he and his father entered the field of battle. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of Greece; and, shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad: and, although he still retained some territories in Greece and elsewhere, and afterwards, for some years, reigned in Macedonia, yet he could never recover his father's empire; but, for the 17 years which he afterwards lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it, till at length, falling into the hands of Seleucus, he died in the prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battle, were Tyre and Sidon, and the island of Cyprus.

After the death of Antigonus, [x] the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them; and hereby the whole empire of Alexander became parted, and settled into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine; Cassander, Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other of the provinces beyond the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest. And these four were the [y] four horns of the he-goat mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet Daniel, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn.

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[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5.

[y] Daniel viii.

That first horn [z] was Alexander, king of Grecia, who overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; and the [a] other four horns were these four kings, who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard, [b] spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the same prophet, the *kingdom of the mighty king* (*i. e.* of Alexander) *should be broken, and divided towards* (*i. e.* according to the number of) *the four winds of heaven*, among those four kings, *who should not be of his posterity*, as neither of the four above mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the empire of Alexander, were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of Alexander. But this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms among kings; and therefore of this only can these prophecies be understood. For it is plain, they speak of the four successors of Alexander, as [c] of four kings; where they are represented by four horns, they are [d] expressly called so; and where they are represented by [e] four heads, the very symbol speaks them so. For who are heads of kingdoms, but the kings that reign over them? the leopard in that prophecy was the empire of the Macedonians, and the four heads were the four kings that after Alexander divided it into four kingdoms, and as kings reigned over them. But none of Alexander's successors were kings, till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first, indeed, there were five kings of these successors: but Antigonus, not being king above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason, these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only who conquered him. And it is farther to be observed, that though Antigonus and the other four called themselves kings three years before the battle of Ipsus, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But, after this battle, there being a league made between the four survivors who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions set out to them into so many

[z] Daniel viii. 21. xi. 3.
[a] Dan. viii. 22. xi. 4.
[b] Dan. vii. 6.
[c] Daniel viii. 21, 22. xi. 4.
[d] Dan. viii. 21.
[e] Dan. vii. 6.

kingdoms, and each of them was authorised by the consent of all to govern them as kings independent of all superiors; from this time only can their respective divisions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their successors afterwards had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore, from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called kings; and they were four only, that is Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

Onias, the first of that name, high priest of the Jews, being dead, he was, [f] succeeded in the high priesthood by Simon his son, who, from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called Simon the Just. He was the first of that name that was high priest, and lived in that office nine years. Anno 300. Ptolemy Soter 5.

Seleucus, after his victory over Antigonus, having seized the Upper Syria, [g] there built Antioch on the river Orontes, which afterwards for many ages became the queen of the East. For here the Syrian kings had the seat of their empire; and here the Roman governors who presided over the affairs of the East had their residence; and, when Christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the Asian churches. It was situated on the river Orontes, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean sea. It is [h] reckoned to be in the mid way by land, between Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, and to be about 700 miles distant from each. He called it Antioch, say some, from the name of his father, others, from the name of his son, and others from that of both. For Antiochus was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built six-

[f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2. Chron. Alex. Euseb. Chron. Syncellus ex Africano.

[g] Johan. Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750, &c. Appian. in Syriacis. Just. lib. 15. c. 4. Diod. lib. 20. Julian. in Misopogone.

[h] Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia Magna.

teen other cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in Pisidia, of which mention [i] is made in scripture. But Antioch on the Orontes was the most remarkable of them. Antigonus had not long before [k] built a city in the neighbourhood, which, from his name, he called Antigonia, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire. This Seleucus razed to the ground, and, having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the Orontes, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He [l] built also several other cities in that country, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called Seleucia, from his own name; another Apamia, from Apama his wife, the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; and the third, Laodicea, from Laodice his mother. Apamia and Seleucia stood upon the same river with Antioch, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea; and upon the same coast towards the south, lay Laodicea. For the sake of these four cities, the country in which they stood, had the name of *Tetrapolis*, i. e. *the country of the four cities*: not but that there were several other cities in it, but these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that country: and, indeed, it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was Seleucis: this Seleucus gave it from his own name; and it extended southward as far as Cœle-Syria: for Syria was divided into three parts, Syria properly so called, Cœle-Syria, or the Hollow Syria, and Syria Palestina. The first of these, which I call the Upper Syria, contained Commagena, Cyrrhestica, Seleucis, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain Amanus on the north, to the mountain Libanus on the south, and was afterwards called Syria Antiochena. The second reached from Libanus to Anti-Libanus, including Damascus and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep valleys between high mountains, it was for this reason called Cœle-Syria, *i. e.* the Hollow Syria, from Anti-Libanus, to the borders of Egypt, was Syria Palestina; and the maritime parts of the two latter, from Aradus to Gaza, was that which the

[i] Acts iii. 14. [k] Strabo, et Diod. Sic. ibid. [l] Strabo, ibid.

Greeks called Phœnicia. But not only Seleucis, but Antioch itself, was also called Tetrapolis, but from another reason, that is, because it consisted of four quarters as of so many cities: the first of them only was built by Seleucus; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and were also inclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near 1600 years to be the chief city of the East, till at length, [m] A. D. 1265, it was taken from the western Christians by Bibars, sultan of Egypt, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that, Aleppo hath succeeded, in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. [n] All the walls are still remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within, excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their inclosures. It is now called Anthakia; but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The [n] patriarchal see, which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to Damascus. But he that hath at present the title of patriarch of Antioch in that place scarce reacheth the figure formerly borne by the meanest deacon of that church: to so low a condition is the state of Christianity now sunk in those parts.

Daphne [o] was reckoned a suburb of this city, though at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There Seleucus planted a grove, which was ten miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to Apollo and Diana, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to Antioch, that Baiæ was to Rome, and Canopus to Alexandria, that is, the place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For [p] it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of cypress trees in the grove, and

[m] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281.
[n] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 280.
[o] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750.
[p] Procopius Persicorum, lib. 2.

the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight; which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment [q] was there to be had in the utmost excess; and the Antiochians, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that though the place had been consecrated to Apollo and Diana, it was by the Antiochians in reality wholly devoted to Bacchus and Venus; which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. *to live after the manners of Daphne*, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living: and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And Cassius the Roman general, on his coming to Antioch, by public proclamation, prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashiered, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this Antioch, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called Antioch on the Orontes, so was it as often called Antioch [r] ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, *i. e.* Antioch near Daphne.

Anno 299. Ptolemy Soter 6.

Lysimachus, to strengthen himself in his kingdom, [s] made a strict alliance with Ptolemy, and, for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife Arsinoe, one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to Agathocles his son. Seleucus following this example, contracted the like alliance with Demetrius, and married his daughter Stratonice, which he had by Phila the sister of Cassander. She being a very beautiful lady, Seleucus, on the fame of it, desired her in marriage; and Demetrius, being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from Greece, where he had still some towns, carried her with the whole fleet that he had then remaining, into Syria. In his way thither, he made a descent upon Cilicia, which was then held by Plistarchus brother of Cassander, by the gift of the four kings after the death of Antigonus. Hereon Plistarchus went to Seleucus to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance

[q] Chrys. Sermo in Babylam Martyrem.
[r] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 715.
[s] Plutarchus in Demetrio.

with the common enemy, without consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. Demetrius, having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to Quinda, where the public treasury of the country was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to 1200 talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to Orassus, a maritime town in Syria, where he met Seleucus, and delivered to him his bride; and after some days there spent in nuptial feasts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he sailed back again into Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent Phila his wife to Cassander her brother, to excuse the matter.

By this means the power of Demetrius began again to grow in those parts. For he had there on this acquisition all the province of Cilicia, the whole island of Cyprus, and the two strong and wealthy cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia; which making Seleucus jealous of his neighbourhood, [t] he would have bought him out of Cilicia for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase. But Demetrius not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about Tyre and Sidon, demanding them of him, in great anger, as cities belonging to Syria, of which he was king. To which Demetrius returned as angry an answer, telling him, that though he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate: and immediately hereon sailed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which Seleucus then had of taking them from him. So that Seleucus got nothing hereby but an ill name: for he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unsatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river Indus to the Mediterranean sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes. Anno 298. Ptolemy Soter 7.

About this time [u] flourished Megasthenes, who wrote an history of India. For he was a confident of Seleucus'; and, having been employed by him in his transactions [x] with San-

[t] Plut. in Demet.

[u] Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 11.

[x] Arrian de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. & de Rebus Indicis.

drocottus king of India, and resided with him some time in that country, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterwards composed his book. Some fragments of it are preserved by [y] Josephus and [z] Eusebius, wherein he makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the greatness of his power: and he is often quoted by [a] Strabo, and other ancient writers, as Athenæus, Arrian, Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus. But the book itself is not now extant. Annius, a lying monk of Viterbo in Italy, who was born anno 1437, and flourished towards the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were Manetho, Berosus, and Megasthenes, whom he called Metasthenes out of a mistake, which he was led into by Ruffinus' Latin version of Josephus; and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore; but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are Inghiramius' Etruscan antiquities, and Jeffrey of Monmouth's British history. For all these are none other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication: and they have truly done so; for they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise than under the style of infamous impostors.

Cassander, [b] having governed Macedon from the death of his father 19 years, died of a dropsy, leaving behind him, by Thessalonice his wife, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great, three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. Philip, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contested for between his two brothers that survived.

Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, [c] being in Egypt,

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[y] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

[z] Præp. Evan. ex Abydeno. lib. 9.

[a] Lib. 15. p. 687. where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

[b] Dexippus et Porphyrius in Chronico Eusebii, p. 57, 59, & 68.

[c] Plutarch. in Pyrr. Pausan. in Atticis.

there married Antigone out of Ptolemy's family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by Neoptolemus an usurper followed Demetrius in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battle of Ipsus, and after that continued with him till the marriage of Seleucus with Stratonice. Then, by the interposition of Seleucus, peace and reconciliation having been made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was delivered to Ptolemy as an hostage on the part of Demetrius for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into Egypt; where, having by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his best beloved wife. Ptolemy had another wife called Eurydice, who was the daughter of Antipater, and sister to Cassander. When Antipater sent this lady into Egypt to be married to Ptolemy, he sent with her for a companion Berenice, she being then the widow of one Philip a Macedonian, newly deceased, by whom she had this Antigone. On her arrival in Egypt, she soon grew so much into the liking of Ptolemy, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore on Pyrrhus' having married her daughter, she prevailed with Ptolemy to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived. Anno 297. Ptolemy Soter 8.

Demetrius from Tyre made an inroad upon the Samaritans, and wasted Samaria; so saith [d] Eusebius: and it is certain that at this time Demetrius was in possession of Tyre and Sidon; but it is more likely that this was done by Demetrius' lieutenants in those parts, than by Demetrius himself in person: for, according to all other histories, Demetrius' wars in Greece detained him there all this year, and also the next. Anno 296. Ptolemy Soter 9.

For [e] the Athenians having revolted from Demetrius, after the reduction of the Messenians (which had been the work of the former year,) he employed a whole year in the siege of Athens, and, at length, by famine forced them to a surrender. Anno 295. Ptolemy Soter 10.

After Demetrius had settled his affairs at Athens, [e] he formed a design for the subduing of the Lacedemonians, and, having overthrown them in two battles, would certainly have

[d] In Chronico. [e] Plut. in Demet.

succeeded in the enterprise, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of Lacedemon, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that Lysimachus, having with a great army invaded his territories in Asia, had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts; and immediately after that another, that Ptolemy had made a descent upon Cyprus, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of Salamine, into which his mother, his wife and children, were retired, and that he pressed that place with an hard siege. All these grievous tidings coming one upon the back of the other, drew back Demetrius from Lacedemon to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account that Salamine was also lost. But Ptolemy was so generous, that, on his mastering the place, he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage, and effects, that belonged to them, adding, also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismission. And when Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Cyprus, then most likely was it, that Tyre and Sidon fell into his hands also, it not being possible, that, after the loss of Cyprus, Demetrius could any longer keep them.

At the same time, it seems most likely, Demetrius also lost Cilicia to Seleucus: for from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province, and all the cities in it; and no time seems more proper for Seleucus to have seized it, than when this declension of Demetrius' fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

Anno 294. Ptolemy Soter 11.

The contest [f] going on between Antipater and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, about the kingdom of Macedon, and Thessalonice, the mother of both, favouring the youngest son, this so exasperated Antipater, the eldest of them, against her, that, in an impious rage, he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of Demetrius. For Alexander, the other brother, to be revenged on Antipater for this horrid fact, called in Demetrius to his assistance;

[f] Plut. in Demetrio & Pyrrho Just lib. 16. c. 1. Pausan. in Bœot.

which opened him a way to the throne of Macedon. For the wicked parricide of Antipater, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time Demetrius had with his army reached the borders of Macedon, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into Thracia, where he soon after perished in banishment. Alexander, being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of Demetrius also; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off; which Demetrius having notice of, was before hand with him, and first cut off Alexander, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as Alexander had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got the kingdom of Macedon in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

By the death of Thessalonice and her two sons, the whole royal family of Philip king of Macedon was utterly extirpated, as that of Alexander had been before in the death of Alexander Ægus and Hercules his sons. And so these two kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars, had made many tragedies in other princes' families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of Providence, brought home to their own, both Philip and Alexander, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

About this time [g] Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, at the distance of 40 miles from Babylon. It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For [h] Pliny tells us it had in it 600,000 inhabitants, and there are not much above 100,000 more in London, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For, by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of

Anno 295. Ptolemy Soter 12.

[g] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. & 743. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.
[h] Ibid.

his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces which were on this side that river, for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to Seleucia. And, besides Seleucus having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the East, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a farther invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleucia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore [i] Pliny tells us, "That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to a desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end." And [k] Strabo saith the same; as doth also Pausanias in his Arcadics, where he tells us, "That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had in his time (*i. e.* about [l] the middle of the second century) nothing left but its walls," These remained long after. For the space within being made a park by the Parthian kings, for the keeping of wild beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the inclosure; and in this state it was in Jerom's time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us [m] "That, excepting the walls, which were repaired for the inclosing of the wild beasts that were there kept, all within was desolation:" and, in [n] another place, "That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chase for wild beasts, kept within the compass of its ancient walls, for the hunting of the king," that is, of Persia. For, after the Parthians, there reigned in Jerome's time, over those countries, a race of Persian kings, and continued there to the time of the Saracen empire, by which they were extinguished. When or how those walls became demolished is no where said, no writer for several hundred years after Jerom's time speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is Benjamin, a Jew of

[i] Lib. 6. c. 26.

[k] Lib. 16. p. 738.

[l] For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antonius Pius. Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2. c. 14.

[m] Comment. in Esaiæ, cap. xiv.

[n] Comment. in Esaiæ, cap. xiii.

Tudela in Navarre, who, in his Itinerary, which he wrote near 600 years since (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173, tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he [o] saith, "Some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace were "then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, "by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then "in the place." Texeira, a Portuguese, in [p] the description of his travels from India to Italy, tells, "That there was no-"thing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only "some few footsteps of it; and that there was no place in all "that country less frequented than that tract of ground "whereon it formerly stood." And Rawolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. [q] His words are as followeth: "The vil-"lage of Elugo lieth on the place where formely old Baby-"lon, the metropolis of Chaldea, did stand. The harbour "lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those use to go "that intend to travel by land to the famous city of Bagdad, "which is situated farther to the east, on the river Tigris, at "a day and an half's distance. This country is so dry and "barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should "have doubted very much whether this potent and powerful "city (which once was the most stately and famous one of "the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of "Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its "situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities, that "still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by "the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof "there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of "burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable.—Just before "the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle did stand, "in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the for-"tification, which is quite demolished and unanhabited. Be-"hind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Baby-"lon. This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, "but is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venemous "reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not "come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in "the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among

[o] Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 76. [p] Cap. 8.

[q] See Mr. Ray's edition of these Travels in English, part 2. chap. 7.

" these reptiles, they are chiefly some in the Persian language " called Eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous: " they are bigger than our lizards," &c. All which ruins, here mentioned by Rawolf, are no doubt the same which Benjamin of Tudela saith were the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the old palace, which stood on the eastern side of the river; for it is of that only that Benjamin and Rawolf speak. Of the ruins of Babylon on the western side, where the new palace stood which Nebuchadnezzar himself built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together shews how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that which the prophet Isaiah prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it are as followeth: Isaiah xiii. 19—22. *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrha; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their folds there: but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.* Thus far Isaiah: and, besides this, there are several other prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have already been taken notice of. It must be acknowledged, that there is mention made of Babylon, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as in [r] Lucan [s] Philostratus, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of as a city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood, not of old [t] Babylon on the Euphrates, but of

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[r] Lib. i, v. 10. [s] Lib. i. c. 17—19.

[t] Plutarch, indeed in the life of Crassus, speaks of Babylon and Seleucia, as of two distinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in Crassus, that, in his first irruption into Mesopotamia, he had not marched directly on to Babylon and Seleucia, and seized those two cities. And Appian, in his parthics, says the same thing. But Plutarch was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place; that is Seleucia. For as to old Babylon, it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of Crassus. And as to Appian, he doth no more than recite the opi-

Seleucia on the Tigris. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylon, that is, the Babylonic Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylonia, to distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that [u] Babylon simply, and at [x] length Babylon. That Lucan, by his Babylon, in the first book of his Pharsalia, means none other than Seleucia, or the new Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhæ; which can be understood only of the Seleucian or new Babylon, and not of the old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this Babylon, (*i. e.* book vi. ver. 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the new Babylon, and not the old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance,) to the royal seat of the Parthian king, which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old Babylon; and therefore, [y] in the description of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old Babylon, in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places where they lay the scenes of their fables; and that the whole story of Apollonius Tyaneus, as written by Philostratus, is no more than a romance and a fable is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of Babylon to Seleucia was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that Bagdad is now situated in the very place where formerly old Babylon stood. For when Bagdad was first built, it [z] truly was upon the same plot of ground where

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nion of Plutarch; for he writes word for word after him as to this matter.

[u] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

[x] Stephanus Byzantinus in Βαβυλών.

[y] Lib. 1. c. 18.

[z] Bocharti Geographia Sacra, part 1. lib. 1. c. 8. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 121, 122. Sionitæ Descriptio Bagdadi ad Calcem Geographiæ Nubiensis, c. 2.

formerly Seleucia or new Babylon stood. For as old Babylon was exhausted by Seleucia, so afterwards was Seleucia by Ctesphon and Almaydayen, and these two again by Bagdad; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means, Seleucia being reduced to a desolation, as well as Babylon, at the time when Abu Jaafar Almansur, calif or emperor of the Saracens, begun his reign (which was in the year of our Lord 754,) it had nothing upon it but the cell of a Christian monk, called Dad, and a garden adjoining to it: from whence it had the name of Bagdad, that is, in the language of that country, *the garden of Dad.* And [a] upon this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of Bagdad. For the same Almansur being resolved, out of dislike to Hashemia, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay; and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly Seleucia had stood, on the west side of the Tigris. But, not long after, it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands, about three miles above the place where Ctesphon was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of Almansur, was for many years the capital of the Saracen empire, and still remains a place of great note in the East. But they are much mistaken who think it the same with old Babylon; for that was upon the Euphrates, but Bagdad is upon the Tigris, at the distance of 40 miles from the place where that old city stood.

Seleucus built many other cities, both in the Greater and Lesser Asia; [b] sixteen of which he called Antioch, from the name of Antiochus, his father; nine, Seleucia, from his own name; six, Laodicea, from the name of Laodice, his mother; three, Apamea, from Apama, his first wife; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice, his last wife; in all which he [c] planted

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[a] Elmacini Hist. Saracennica, sub anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Hist. Dynastiarum, editionis Pocockianæ, p. 141. Eutychii Annales, tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis, p. 204.

[b] Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. editionis Tollianæ.

[c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13. & contra Appionem, lib. 2. Euseb. in Chronico.

the Jews, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city as they were at Alexandria. And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and others rusts and interests, he, for this reason, gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the Jews of Palestine being under Ptolemy, were not in a capacity to be serviceable to him. But Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely, that there they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it; and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them: and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation.

Simon the Just, high priest of the Jews, dying after he had been [d] nine years in that office, left behind him a son called Onias; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high priesthood, Eleazar, [e] the brother of Simon, was substituted high priest in his stead. This Simon, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation, both towards God and man, merited the sirname of the Just; so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person; which the character given of him in the 50th chapter of Ecclesiasticus sufficiently shews. There, many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the Jews, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the canon of the scriptures of the Old Testament. What was done herein by Ezra hath been above related. The books afterwards added, were the two

Anno 292. Ptolemy Soter 13.

[d] Euseb. in Chronico. [e] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi. That these could not be put into the canon by Ezra, is plain; for four of those books are, upon just grounds, supposed to have been written by himself (that is, the two books of Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Esther,) and the book of Nehemiah was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of Malachi also: and therefore a latter time must be assigned for their insertion into the canon, and none is more likely than that of Simon the Just, who is said to have been [f] the last of the men of the great synagogue. For what the Jews call the great synagogue were a number of elders amounting to 120, who, succeeding some after others, in a continued series, from the return of the Jews again into Judea, after the Babylonish captivity, to the time of Simon the Just, laboured in the restoring of the Jewish church and state in that country; in order whereto, the holy scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, completed this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained farther to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time where those men of the great synagogue ended that were employed therein, that is, in the time of Simon the Just, who was the last of them? And that especially, since there are some particulars in those books which seem necessarily to refer down to times as late as those of Alexander the Great, if not later. For, in the third chapter of the first book of Chronicles, we have the genealogy of the sons of Zerubabbel, carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of Alexander: and, in the book of Nehemiah, chap. xii. ver. 22. we have the days of Jaddua spoken of, as of days past; but Jaddua outlived Alexander two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of Ezra, and after the time of Nehemiah (who were the writers of those books,) by those who completed the canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves, who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear: for then

[f] See Maimonides and the rest of the Rabbis, who all say, that the men of the great synagogue were 120 persons, and that Simon the Just was the last of them.

they must have lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to; but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say that they were put in by any other than those, who, by the direction of the Holy Spirit of God, completed the canon of the scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency; and therefore we must conclude, that, since Simon the Just was the last of those that were employed in this work, it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the Jewish church. And thus far having brought down this history through the scripture times, till the canon of the scriptures of the Old Testament was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed [g] the Mishnical times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners which God's people studied: but thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the Mishnah, that is, the second law, and those who delivered and taught them were styled the Mishnical doctors. From the death of Simon the Just their time began, and they continued to be known by that name, till Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the Mishnah; which was done about 150 years after Christ, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished, till the time of Christ, shall be the subject of the second part of this history.

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[g] See David Gantz in Zemach David, and the rest of the Jewish writers, by whom all those, who living after the men of the great synagogue, are quoted in the Mishna for any tradition, are called the Mishnical doctors.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Sabacus.	
3967	747	12	1	1			The beginning of the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon.
8	746	13	2	2			
9	745	14	3	3			
3970	744	15	4	4			
1	743	16	5	5			
2	742	1	6	6			Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, make war against Ahaz, and besiege Jerusalem, but without success.
3	741	2	7	7			Ahaz vanquished, and Judah greatly oppressed by Rezin and Pekah.
4	740	3	8	8			Ahaz calls in Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, to his help, who slays Rezin, and leads part of Israel into captivity.
5	739	4	9	9			Ahaz revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in Judah. Pekah slain by Hoshea.
6	738	5	10	10			
7	737	6	11	11			
8	736	7	12	12			
9	735	8	13	13			
3980	734	9	14	14			
1	733	10	1	15			
2	732	11	2	16			
3	731	12	1	17			
4	730	13	2	18			
5	729	14	3	19			Tiglath Pileser dies, and is succeeded by Salmaneser.
6	728	15	4	1	1		Salmaneser invadeth Palestine, and maketh Samaria tributary to him.
7	727	16	5	2	2	1	Ahaz dies, and is succeeded by Hezekiah. Sabacon or So, the Ethiopian, made king of Egypt.
8	726	1	1	3	3	2	Hezekiah restores the true worship
9	725	2	2	4	4	3	of God in Judah and Jerusalem.
3990	724	3	3	5	5	4	Salmaneser lays siege to Samaria.
1	723	4	4	6	6	5	

Nabonassar or Belesis. Nadius. Chinzirus & Porus. Jugaeus.

Tiglath Pileser or Arbaces. Salmaneser.

Ahaz. Hezekiah.

Jotham.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
3992	722	6	5	7	6		
3	721	7	1	8	7		Salmaneser took Samaria, and extinguished the kingdom of Israel. Tobit led into captivity, at the end of the 6th Jewish year of the reign of Hezekiah.
4	720	8	2	9	8		Salmaneser maketh war upon Tyre, and besiegeth it five years.
5	719	9	3	10	1		Sevechus succeedeth So in the kingdom of Egypt.
6	718	10	4	11	2		
7	717	11	5	12	3		
8	716	12	6	13	4		
9	715	13	7	14	5		Salmaneser dieth, and is succeeded by Sennacherib.
4000	714	14	8	1	6		Sennacherib invadeth Judea. Hezekiah's sickness.
1	713	15	9	2	7		Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah. Sennacherib invades Egypt.
2	712	16	10	3	8		
3	711	17	11	4	9		
4	710	18	12	5	10		Sennacherib, on his return from Egypt, invadeth Judea, and loseth all his army, it being smitten by the hand of God.
5	709	19	1	6	11	1	The Medes revolt from Sennacherib, and make Deioces king.
6	708	20	2	7	12	2	
7	707	21	3	8	13	3	
8	706	22	4	1	14	4	Sennacherib being slain, is succeeded by Esarhaddon his son.
9	705	23	5	2	1	5	Tirhakah succeedeth Sevechus in the kingdom of Egypt.
4010	704	24	1	3	2	6	
11	703	25	2	4	3	7	
12	702	26	1	5	4	8	
13	701	27	2	6	5	9	
14	700	28	3	7	6	10	
15	699	29	1	8	7	11	
16	698	1	2	9	8	12	Hezekiah being dead, is succeeded by Manasseh his son.
17	697	2	3	10	9	13	
18	696	3	4	11	10	14	
19	695	4	5	12	11	15	

Mardoc Empadus.
Sennacherib.
Arkianus.
Interregnum.
Belibus.
Aponadius.
Manasseh.
Sevechus.
Tarachus.
Deioces.
Esarhaddon.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4020	694	5	6	13	12	16	
			Regilibus.				
1	693	6	1	14	13	17	
			Mesessimordacus.				
2	692	7	1	15	14	18	
3	691	8	2	16	15	19	
4	690	9	3	17	16	20	
5	689	10	4	18	17	21	
			Interregnum.				
6	688	11	1	19	18	22	
7	687	12	2	20	1	23	On the death of Tirhakah, ended the reign of the Ethiopian kings
8	686	13	3	21	2	24	in Egypt, and an interregnum of two years succeeded.
9	685	14	4	22	1	25	Twelve princes seize the kingdom of Egypt, and govern it
4030	684	15	5	23	2	26	by a joint confederacy 15 years.
1	683	16	6	24	3	27	
2	682	17	7	25	4	28	
3	681	18	8	26	5	29	
4	680	19	1	27	6	30	Eserhaddon, king of Assyria, is made king of Babylon.
			Assardinus.				
5	679	20	2	28	7	31	
6	678	21	3	29	8	32	Eserhaddon invadeth Palestine;
7	677	22		30	9	33	planteth a colony of foreigners in Samaria; takes Manasseh prisoner, and carries him in chains to Babylon.
					Interreg. The Government of the Twelve.		
8	676	23	5	31	10	34	Manasseh is restored, and the Cutheans in Samaria are infested with lions.
9	675	24	6	32	11	35	
4040	674	25	7	33	12	36	
1	673	26	8	34	13	37	
2	672	27	9	35	14	38	
3	671	28	10	36	15	39	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4044	670	29	11	1 Psammitichus.	40	Psammitichus, one of the 12 confederated princes of Egypt, having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.
5	669	30	12	2	41	
6	668	31	13	3	42	
7	667	32	1 Saosduchinus.	4	43	Eserhaddon being dead, is succeeded by Saosduchinus in the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms.
8	666	33	2	5	44	
9	665	34	3	6	45	
4050	661	35	4	7	46	
1	663	36	5	8	47	
2	662	37	6	9	48	
3	661	38	7	10	49	
4	660	39	8	11	50	
5	659	40	9	12	51	
6	658	41	10	13	52	
7	657	42	11	14	53	Deioces is killed in battle by the king of Babylon and Assyria.
8	656	43	12	15	1 Phraortes.	Phraortes his son succeeds him.
9	655	44	13	16	2	Holofernes invadeth Judea, and is slain by Judith.
4060	654	45	14	17	3	
1	653	46	15	18	4	
2	652	47	16	19	5	
3	651	48	17	20	6	
4	650	49	18	21	7	
5	649	50	19	22	8	
6	648	51	20	23	9	
7	647	52	1 Chyniladanus.	24	10	
8	646	53	2	25	11	
9	645	54	3	26	12	
4070	644	55	4	27	13	
1	643	1 Ammon.	5	28	14	Manasseh being dead, is succeeded by Ammon, his son.
2	642	2	6	29	15	
3	641	3	7	30	16	Ammon is murdered by his servants.
4	640	1 Josiah.	8	31	17	He is succeeded by Josiah, his son.
5	639	2	9	32	18	
6	638	3	10	33	19	
7	637	4	11	34	20	
8	636	5	12	35	21	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4079	635	6	13	36	22	Phraortes besieging Nineveh, is there slain.
4080	634	7	14	37	1 Cyaxares.	Cyaxares, his son, succeeds him.
1	633	8	15	38	2	Josiah's first reformation of religion in Judea. The Scythians invade the Upper Asia.
2	632	9	16	39	3	
3	631	10	17	40	4	
4	630	11	18	41	5	
5	629	12	19	42	6	Josiah's second reformation of religion in Judea.
6	628	13	20	43	7	Jeremiah first called to the prophetic office.
7	627	14	21	44	8	
8	626	15	22	45	9	Nabopollasar rebels against the king of Assyria, and makes himself king of Babylon.
9	625	16	1 Nabopollasar.	46	10	
4090	624	17	2	47	11	
1	623	18	3	48	12	Josiah's third reformation of religion in Judea.
2	622	19	4	49	13	
3	621	20	5	50	14	
4	620	21	6	51	15	
5	619	22	7	52	16	
6	618	23	8	53	17	
7	617	24	9	54	18	Psammitichus, king of Egypt, dies.
8	616	25	10	1 Necus.	19	Is succeeded by Necus, his son, called Pharaoh Necho in the holy scriptures.
9	615	26	11	2	20	
4100	614	27	12	3	21	
1	613	28	13	4	22	
2	612	29	14	5	23	Nineveh destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians.
3	611	30	15	6	24	
4	610	31	16	7	25	Josiah slain in battle, by Necho, king of Egypt.
5	609	1 Jehoiakim.	17	8	26	First Jehoahaz, and after him Jehoiakim, succeeds in his stead.
6	608	2	18	9	27	
7	607	3	19	10	28	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	The Captivity of Judah.	The Captivity of Jeconiah.	
4108	606	4	1 Nebuchadnezzar. 20	11	29	1		Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem; from whence begin the 70 years captivity of the Jews.
9	605	5	2 21	12	30	2		Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, dies, and is succeeded by Nebuchadnezzar, his son.
4110	604	6	3 1	13	31	3		
11	603	7	4 2	14	32	4		Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
12	602	8	5 3	15	33	5		
13	601	9	6 4	16	34	6		
14	600	10	7 5	Psammis. 1	35	7		Darius the Median born.
15	599	11	8 6	2	36	8		Cyrus born. Jehoiakim slain.
16	598	Zedekiah. 1	9 7	3	37	9	1	Jeconiah carried into captivity, and Zedekiah made king in his stead.
17	597	2	10. 8	4	38	10	2	
18	596	3	11. 9	5	39	11	3	
19	595	4	12. 10	6	40	12	4	Ezekiel called to the prophetic office. Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt.
4120	594	5	13. 11	Apries. 1	Astyages. 1	13	5	
1	593	6	14. 12	2	2	14	6	
2	592	7	15. 13	3	3	15	7	Zedekiah confederates with Pharaoh Hophra,
3	591	8	16. 14	4	4	16	8	And rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
4	590	9	17. 15	5	5	17	9	Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem.
5	589	10	18. 16	6	6	18	10	Forceth Pharaoh Hophra to retreat, who came to relieve it.
6	588	11	19. 17	7	7	19	11	Takes the city, and utterly destroys it, with the temple.
7	587		20. 18	8	8	20	12	Returns to Babylon, and erects the golden image in the plains of Dura.
8	586		21. 19	9	9	21	13	Comes again into Palestine, and besiegeth
9	585		22. 20	10	10	22	14	Tyre *13 years.*

Julian Period	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	
4130	584	23. 21	11	11	23	15	The remainder of the Jews and Israelites carried away by Nebuzaradan.
1	583	24. 22	12	12	24	16	
2	582	25. 23	13	13	25	17	
3	581	6. 24	14	14	26	18	
4	580	27. 25	15	15	27	19	
5	579	28. 26	16	16	28	20	
6	578	29. 27	17	17	29	21	
7	577	30. 28	18	18	30	22	
8	576	31. 29	19	19	31	23	
9	575	32. 30	20	20	32	24	
4140	574	33. 31	21	21	33	25	The Egyptians revolt from Pharaoh Hophra.
1	573	34. 32	22	22	34	26	Tyre taken, and Egypt invaded, by Nebuchadnezzar.
2	572	35. 33	23	23	35	27	He ravageth Egypt.
3	571	36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints Amasis king, and returns to Babylon.
4	570	37. 35	25	25	37	29	Pharaoh Hophra slain by Amasis.
5	569	38. 36	Amasis. 1	26	38	30	Nebuchadnezzar distracted.
6	568	39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567	40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566	41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565	42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564	43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563	44. 42	7	32	44	36	Nebuchadnezzar restored to his senses.
2	562	45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity.
3	561	Evilmerodach. 1	9	34	46		Jehoiachin released and advanced.
4	560	2	10	35	47		Evilmerodach slain by a conspiracy against him, and Astyages dies in Media.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	
4155	559	1	11	1	48	Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon, and Cyaxares (the Darius Medus of the scriptures) in Media. Cyrus comes to the aid of the Medes against the Babylonians.
6	558	2	12	2	49	Great preparations made by the Medes and Babylonians for war against each other.
7	557	3	13	3	50	
8	556	4	14	4	51	Cyrus, being general of the Medes and Persians under Cyaxares, slays Neriglissar in battle. Laborosoarchod succeeds, and is slain.
9	555	1	15	5	52	Nabonadius (the Belshazzar of the scripture) succeeds Laborosoarchod.
4160	554	2	16	6	53	
1	553	3	17	7	54	Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, chap. viii.
2	552	4	18	8	55	
3	551	5	19	9	56	Belshazzar goes into Lesser Asia, and there hires a great army against Cyrus, of which Crœsus takes the command.
4	550	6	20	10	57	Cyrus sends a spy into Crœsus' army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done.
5	549	7	21	11	58	Cyrus vanquisheth Crœsus at the river Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the city, and Crœsus in it.
6	548	8	22	12	59	Cyrus brings all the Lesser Asia under his dominion.
7	547	9	23	13	60	
8	546	10	24	14	61	
9	545	11	25	15	62	
4170	544	12	26	16	63	Cyrus, having settled all affairs in the Lesser Asia, subdues Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.
1	543	13	27	17	64	
2	542	14	28	18	65	Cyrus marcheth into Upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his obedience.
3	541	15	29	19	66	Cyrus returns into Syria, and lays
4	540	16	30	20	67	siege to Babylon.
5	539	17	31	21	68	Takes Babylon, and slays Belshazzar.
6	538	1	32	22	69	Cyrus placeth his uncle Darius on the throne at Babylon, and makes an expedition into Syria.
7	537	2	33		70	Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole empire.

Neriglissar. Belshazzar. Darius. Cyaxares, or Darius Medus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4178	536	Cyrus. 1	34	1	Jeshua. 1	Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an end to their captivity, after 70 years.
9	535	2	35	2	2	The Jews return to Jerusalem, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.
4180	534	3	36	3	3	The Samaritans obstruct them in it.
1	533	4	37	4	4	The Samaritans corrupt the officers of Cyrus to discourage the work.
2	532	5	38	5	5	
3	531	6	39	6	6	
4	530	7	40	7	7	Cyrus dies, being 70 years old.
		Kings of Persia.				
5	529	Cambyses. 1	41	8	8	Cambyses, his son, succeeds in the
6	528	2	42	9	9	empire.
7	527	3	43	10	10	
8	526	4	44	11	11	He invadeth Egypt.
9	525	5	1 Psamminitus.	12	12	Vanquisheth Psamminitus, who newly succeeded Amasis, his father, in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.
4190	524	6		13	13	Makes an expedition against the Ethiopians, and returns with loss.
1	523	7		14	14	Slays the Egyptian god Apis, and commits many outrages among them.
2	522	8		15	15	Returns into Syria, and there dies. The Magians seize the kingdom.
3	521	Darius Hystaspes. 1		16	16	The Magians slain, and Darius Hystaspes chosen king.
4	520	2		17	17	The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the Jews.
5	519	3		18	16	The Samaritans again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.
6	518	4		19	19	Which decree is brought to Jerusalem, and there executed.
7	517	5		20	20	The Babylonians revolting from Darius, are besieged by him.
8	516	6		21	21	Babylon taken by Darius, after a siege of twenty months.
9	515	7		22	22	The temple rebuilt and dedicated.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4200	514	8	23	23	The Jews obtain sentence from Darius against the Samaritans about the tribute of Samaria.
1	513	9	24	24	Darius passeth the Bosphorus and the Danube, to make war against the Scythians, and returns with the loss of half his army.
2	512	10	25	25	Subdues Thrace, and returns to Susa.
3	511	11	26	26	
4	510	12	27	27	The Scythians ravagé Thrace, and drive Miltiades out of the Chersonesus.
5	509	13	28	28	Darius sends Scylax with a fleet down the Indus, to discover India.
6	508	14	29	29	
7	507	15	30	30	Scylax returns by the way of the ocean and the Red sea, and gives Darius an account of his discoveries.
8	506	16	31	31	Darius invades and conquers India.
9	505	17	32	32	
4210	504	18	33	33	
11	503	19	34	34	The Persians, under the command of Aristagoras of Miletus, make an attempt upon Naxus, and miscarry in it. Tyre restored.
12	502	20	35	35	Aristagoras and the Ionians revolt from Darius.
13	501	21	36	36	The Athenians enter into a confederacy with the Ionians against Darius.
14	500	22	37	37	They burn Sardis, which gave the first rise to the Persian war against the Greeks.
15	499	23	38	38	The Persians prevail against the Ionians. Aristagoras flees into Thrace. Hestiæus Milesius returns into Ionia, and joins the revolters.
16	498	24	39	39	Aristagoras slain in Thrace.
17	497	25	40	40	Miletus taken, the Ionians reduced, and an end put to that war.
18	496	26	41	41	Hestiæus taken by the Persians, and crucified.
19	425	27	42	42	The Persians reduce the Hellespont and Thracian Chersonesus, and force Miltiades to flee to Athens.
4220	491	28	43	43	Mardonius being sent by Darius to make war against the Greeks, miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss;
1	490	29	44	44	Darius sends heralds to demand earth and water of the Greeks.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4222	492	30	45	45	Two other generals sent against the Greeks in the place of Mardonius. Zoroastres appears at the Persian court.
3	491	31	46	46	The Persians invade Attica, and are defeated at Marathon.
4	490	32	47	47	Darius makes great preparations to invade Greece in person.
5	489	33	48	48	
6	488	34	49	49	
7	487	35	50	50	The Egyptians revolt from Darius.
8	486	36	51	51	Darius declares Xerxes his successor, and dies
9	485	Xerxes. 1	52	52	Xerxes confirms to the Jews all their privileges.
4230	484	2	53	53	Reduceth Egypt.
1	483	3	54	Joakim. 1	Resolves on a war with the Greeks, and makes great preparations for it.
2	482	4	55	2	Enters into a league with the Carthaginians against the Greeks.
3	481	5	56	3	Comes with a prodigious army to Sardis, and there winters.
4	480	6	57	4	Passeth the Hellespont, marcheth into Greece, loseth the battle of Salamis, and returns with disgrace to Sardis. The Carthaginians vanquished in Sicily by Gelo.
5	479	7	58	5	The Persians vanquished at Platea and Mycale on the same day.
6	478	8	59	6	Xerxes destroys the temple of Bel at Babylon.
7	477	9	60	7	Pausanias and Aristides pursue the war against the Persians.
8	476	10	61	8	Pausanias, suspected of treason by the Lacedemonians, is recalled.
9	475	11	62	9	Still carries on the treason for the betraying of Greece to Xerxes.
4240	474	12	63	10	Is tried for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence.
1	473	13	64	11	Full discovery being made of his treason, he is put to death for it.
2	472	14	65	12	Themistocles being accused by the Lacedemonians of the same treason, is acquitted of it at Athens.
3	471	15	66	13	Themistocles being banished Athens for ten years, is again accused of the same treason by the Lacedemonians, before the states of Greece, and thereby forced to fly into Persia

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4244	470	16	67	14	Cimon, general of the Athenians, gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, on the same day, the first by sea, and the second by land.
5	469	17	68	15	He makes many other conquests for the Athenians on the Hellespont and elsewhere.
6	468	18	69	16	Xerxes, discouraged by so many defeats, gives over the Grecian war.
7	467	19	70	17	
8	466	20	71	18	
9	465	21	72	19	Xerxes slain by the treason of Artabanus.
1250	464	1	73	20	Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther) succeeds, and slays Artabanus.
1	463	2	74	21	Conquers his brother Hystaspes, and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the throne.
2	462	3	75	22	Hereon he makes a great feast for all his nobles, and divorceth Vashti his queen.
3	461	4	76	23	A collection of virgins made for the king, of which Esther was one.
4	460	5	77	24	Esther pleaseth the king, and becomes his concubine. The Egyptians revolt, and make Inarus their king.
5	459	6	78	25	Achemenides, brother of the king, being sent against the Egyptians, is vanquished and slain, and the remainder of his army besieged in Memphis.
6	458	7	79	26	Ezra sent to be governor of Judea. Esther is made queen.
7	457	8	80	27	Ezra separated the Jews from their strange wives. Mordecai discovers the treason of Bigtham and Teresh.
8	456	9	81	28	Artabazus and Megabyses raise the siege of Memphis, defeat Inarus, and besiege him and his Athenian auxiliaries in the island of Prosopitis.
9	455	10	82	29	
1260	454	11	83	30	They force Prosopitis, take Inarus prisoner, drive the Athenians out of Egypt, and again reduce all that country under the Persian king.
1	453	12	84	1	Haman plotteth the destruction of the Jews.
2	452	13	85	2	Haman's plot defeated in his own destruction, and the feast of Purim instituted in remembrance of it.

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Eliashib.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4263	451	14	86	3	
4	450	15	87	4	Cimon sent by the Athenians to Cyprus with a great fleet;
5	449	16	88	5	Where he beats the Persians both by sea and land, and then dies at Citium. Artaxerxes makes peace with the Athenians.
6	448	17	89	6	Inarus crucified, and Megabyzus rebels.
7	447	18	90	7	Defeats the first army sent against him.
8	446	19	91	8	Defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the king.
9	445	20	92	9	Nehemiah sent governor to Judea, and rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem. Megabyzus banished to Cyrta on the Red sea.
4270	444	21	93	10	Nehemiah repeoples Jerusalem, and proceeds to reform church and state in Judah.
1	443	22	94	11	Ezra publisheth his edition of the Hebrew scriptures.
2	442	23	95	12	
3	441	24	96	13	
4	440	25	97	14	Megabyzus returns to the Persian court.
5	439	26	98	15	
6	438	27	99	16	
7	437	28	100	17	
8	436	29	101	18	
9	435	30	102	19	
4280	434	31	103	20	
1	433	32	104	21	Nehemiah goes from Jerusalem to the Persian court.
2	432	33	105	22	Meto begun his cycle.
3	431	34	106	23	The Peloponnesian war began. A great plague broke out in the East.
4	430	35	107	24	It came to Athens, and grievously afflicted that city.
5	429	36	108	25	About this time flourished Malachi the prophet
6	428	37	109	26	Nehemiah comes again to Jerusalem with a new commission. Plato the philosopher born.
7	427	38	110	27	Nehemiah goes on farther to reform the Jewish church and state.
8	426	39	111	28	The plague again broke out at Athens, which
9	425	40	112	29	produced a law there for polygamy.
4290	424	41	113	30	Artaxerxes dying, Xerxes his son succeeds. He is slain by Sogdianus, and Sogdianus by Ochus, who with the crown assumes the name of Darius.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4291	423	Darius Nothus. 1	114	31		Darius (commonly called Darius Nothus) begins his reign.
2	422	2	115	32		Vanquisheth Arsites, his brother, and puts him to death.
3	421	3	116	33		
4	420	4	117	34		
5	419	5	118	35		
6	418	6	119	36		
7	417	7	120	37		
8	416	8	121	38		
9	415	9	122	39		
4300	414	10	123	40		Pisuthnes rebels against Darius in Lesser Asia, and is vanquished, and put to death by Tissaphernes, one of Darius' lieutenants.
1	413	11	124	Joiadah. 1	Amyrtæus. 1	The Egyptians revolt from Darius, and make Amyrtæus their king.
2	412	12	125	2	2	Tissapharnes and Pharnabazus governors of Lesser Asia for Darius.
3	411	13	126	3	3	
4	410	14	127	4	4	
5	409	15	128	5	5	The last act of reformation by Nehemiah, 49 years after it had been begun by Ezra, where end the first seven weeks of Daniel's prophecy.
6	408	16	129	6	6	The temple on Mount Gerizim begun to be built by Manasseh.
7	407	17	130	7	Pausiris. 1	Cyrus, the younger son of Darius,
8	406	18	131	8	2	sent to govern in Lesser Asia.
9	405	19	132	9	3	Cyrus recalled to the Persian court. Darius dies, and Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeds him.
4310	404	Artaxerxes Mnemon. 1	133	10	4	Athens taken, and the Peloponnesian war ended. Cyrus sent back again to his government in Lesser Asia.
11	403	2	134	11	5	He designeth war against his brother,
12	402	3	135	12	6	and lists forces for this purpose.
13	401	4	136	13	Psammitichus. 1	He marcheth towards Babylon, is vanquished in battle, and slain.
14	400	5	137	14	2	Thimbro sent by the Lacedemonians into Lesser Asia to make war against the Persians. Xenophon brings home the Greeks that followed Cyrus, and joins him.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4315	399	6	138	15	3	Dercyllidas succeeds Thimbro. Socrates put to death by the Athenians.
16	398	7	139	16	4	Dercyllidas vigorously carries on the war against the Persians.
17	397	8	140	17	5	
18	396	9	141	18	6	Agesilaus passeth into Asia, to carry on the war there against the Persians.
19	395	10	142	19	Nepherites. 1	Vanquisheth Tissaphernes, who is thereon put to death by Artaxerxes.
4320	394	11	143	20	2	Agesilaus called home to defend his country against a confederacy of the Greeks against them. Conon wins the victory of Cnidus.
1	393	12	144	21	3	Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, and again restores that city.
2	392	13	145	22	4	The Lacedemonians renew the war in Asia against the Persians, but without success.
3	391	14	146	23	5	Artaxerxes makes great preparations for war against Cyprus.
4	390	15	147	24	6	
5	389	16	148	25	1	
6	388	17	149	26	Achoris. 2	The Athenians send Chabrias to the assistance of Evagoras, king of Cyprus, who reduceth the whole island to him.
7	387	18	150	27	3	The peace of Antalcidas made between the Lacedemonians and the Persians.
8	386					
		19	151	28	4	The Persians invade Cyprus with 300,000 men,
9	385	20	152	29	5	And make an absolute conquest of that island.
4330	384	21	153	30	6	Artaxerxes invades the Cadusians with ill success. Aristotle born.
1	383	22	154	31	7	
2	382	23	155	32	8	
3	381	24	156	33	9	
4	380	25	157	34	10	
5	379	26	158	35	11	
6	378	27	159	36	12	
7	377	28	160	37	13	Artaxerxes resolves on a war to reduce Egypt,

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4338	376	29	161	38	1	Pharnabazus appointed general for this war.
9	375	30	162	39	Psammuthis.	He makes great preparations for it.
4340	374	31	163	40	2	Invades Egypt, and is forced to return with ill success.
1	373	32	164	1	3	
2	372	33	165	2	4	
3	371	34	166	3	5	The Lacedemonians beaten at Leuctra by the Thebans.
4	370	35	167	4	6	
5	369	36	168	5	7	
6	368	37	169	6	8	
7	367	38	170	7	9	
8	366	39	171	8	10	Johanan, high priest of the Jews, kills his brother Jeshua in the temple, for which the Persian governor lays a mulct upon the Jews for seven years.
9	365	40	172	9	11	
4350	364	41	173	10	12	
1	363	42	174	11	1	The battle of Mantinea between the Lacedemonians and the Thebans, in which the former lose the victory, & the latter their general Epaminondas.
2	362	43	175	12	2	Agesilaus goes into Egypt with an army, to assist Tachus.
3	361	44	176	13	1	He deserts Tachus, and makes Nectanebus king.
4	360	45	177	14	2	He vanquisheth the enemies of Nectanebus,
5	359	46	178	15	3	And fully settles him in the kingdom of Egypt. Artaxerxes dies.
6	358	1	179	16	4	Agesilaus returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coast of Africa. Great revolts in the Persian empire on the succession of Ochus.
7	357	2	180	17	5	
8	356	3	181	18	6	Alexander the Great born at Pella in Macedonia.
9	355	4	182	19	7	
4360	354	5	183	20	8	

Johanan. Tachus. Nectanebus. Ochus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4361	353	6	184	21	9	
2	352	7	185	22	10	
3	351	8	186	23	11	The Cyprians and Phœnicians revolting from Ochus, are again reduced: Sidon taken and destroyed by Ochus.
4	350	9	187	24	12	Ochus invades Egypt, expels Nectanebus, and reduceth the whole country.
5	349	10	188	25		Mentor made governor of Lesser Asia. Memnon his brother enters into the Persian service.
6	348	11	189	26		Plato the philosopher dies.
7	347	12	190	27		
8	346	13	191	28		
9	345	14	192	29		
4370	344	15	193	30		
1	343	16	194	31		
2	342	17	195	32		
3	341	18	196	Jaddua. 1		
4	340	19	197	2		
5	339	20	198	3		
6	338	21	199	4		Bagoas the eunuch poisoneth Ochus, and maketh Arogus or Arses king in his stead.
7	337	Arogus. 1	200	5		Philip, king of Macedon, after the victory of Chæronea, made general of Greece against the Persians.
8	336	2	201	6		Bagoas poisons Arogus, and Pausanias slays Philip, king of Macedon. Darius succeeds the former, and Alexander the latter.
9	335	Darius. 1	202	7		Darius puts Bagoas to death. Alexander destroys Thebes, and is appointed general of the Grecians against the Persians in the place of his father.
4380	334	2	203	8		Alexander passeth into Asia, and wins the battle of Granicus.
1	333	3	204	9		He reduceth all Lesser Asia, and wins the battle of Issus.
2	332	4	205	10		He destroys Tyre and Gaza, and conquers Egypt.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4383	331	Alexander. 1	206	11	He passeth the Euphrates and the Tigris, wins the battle of Arbela, and takes Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, and the provinces belonging to them.
4	330	2	207	12	Darius slain by Bessus. Alexander subdues the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several other nations. Puts Philotas and Parmenio to death.
5	329	3	208	13	He subdues the Bactrians and Sogdians, and puts Bessus to death.
6	328	4	209	14	He marries Roxana, passeth into India, and conquers all to the river Indus.
7	327	5	210	15	He passeth the Indus, vanquisheth Porus, & subdueth all as far as the river Hyphasis.
8	326	6	211	16	He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the Indus, conquering several nations in his way.
9	325	7	212	17	Having passed down to the mouth of the Indus, he sends Nearchus with his fleet through the ocean to Babylon, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land.
4390	324	8	213	18	Conquers the Cosseans, and enters Babylon.
1	323	Philippus. 1	214	19	He there dies. Arideus, his brother, made nominal king, and the commanders of the army divide the provinces of the empire among themselves.
2	322	2	215	20	Perdiccas and Eumenes make war against Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy.
3	321	3	216	Onias. 1	Eumenes vanquisheth Craterus, and slays him in battle. Perdiccas is slain by his own soldiers in Egypt. Aristotle dies.
4	320	4	217	2	Antigonus being sent against Eumenes, vanquisheth him in battle. Ptolemy seizeth Judea, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, and taketh Jerusalem.
5	319	5	218	3	Antipater being dead, Cassander seizeth Macedon, and Antigonus all Lesser Asia, and shuts up Eumenes in the castle of Nora.
6	318	6	219	4	Eumenes, being got out of Nora, passeth into Cilicia, and having there gotten together an army, marcheth into Syria, and from thence into Mesopotamia.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.		Kings of Syria.	
4397	317	7	220	5			Eumenes marcheth to Susa, and is there joined by the governors of the eastern provinces. Aridæus slain by Olympias.
8	316	Alexander Ægus. 1	221	6			Antigonus marcheth into the East against Eumenes.
9	315	2	222	7			Eumenes betrayed into the hands of Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus confederate against Antigonus.
4400	314	3	223	8			Antigonus dispossesseth Ptolemy of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea.
1	313	4	224	9			Antigonus leaveth Demetrius, his son, with part of his army in Phœnicia, and marcheth with the other against Cassander.
2	312	5		10	1	1 Seleucus	Ptolemy seizeth Cyprus, beats Demetrius at Gaza, and again recovers Syria and Phœnicia, & loseth them all again by the defeat of Cilles his lieutenant.
3	311	6		11	2	2	Demetrius marcheth to Babylon against Seleucus, and returns without success.
4	310	7		12	3	3	Cassander slays Alexander Ægus with Roxana his mother. Epicurus first teacheth his impious philosophy.
5	309	8		13	4	4	Ptolemy takes several cities from Antigonus in Lesser Asia.
6	308	9		14	5	5	He takes the isle of Andros, and Corinth, Sicyon, and several other cities on the continent of Greece.
7	307	10		15	6	6	Ophellas slain by Agathocles. Ptolemy recovers Lybia & Cyrene.
8	306	11		16	7	7	Demetrius gains a great victory over Ptolemy at Cyprus, and dispossesseth him of that whole island. Antigonus hereon takes the title of king.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	High Priests of Judah.	The Æra of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	Kings of Egypt.	
4409	305	12	17	8	8		Antigonus invadeth Egypt, and is repulsed with loss.
4410	301		18	9	9	1 Ptolemy Soter.	Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without success.
11	303		19	10	10	2	Seleucus having made himself master of all the provinces of Alexander's empire beyond the Euphrates, invadeth India, & maketh peace with Sandrocottus.
12	302		20	11	11	3	Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, confederate against Antigonus.
13	301		21	12	12	4	They vanquish and slay him at Ipsus in Phrygia.
14	300		1 Simon the Just.	13	13	5	After this victory, Ptolemy had Judea, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, and Seleucus Upper Syria, where he builds Antioch.
15	299		2	14	14	6	Demetrius gives his daughter, Stratonice, in marriage to Seleucus, and seizeth Cilicia.
16	298		3	15	15	7	Cassander dies in Macedonia.
17	297		4	16	16	8	Pyrrhus marries Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, Ptolemy's best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of Epirus.
18	296		5	17	17	9	Samaria wasted by Demetrius' soldiers from Tyre.
19	295		6	18	18	10	Ptolemy recovers Cyprus from Demetrius.
4420	294		7	19	19	11	Demetrius made king of Macedon, and there reigns seven years.
1	293		8	20	20	12	Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris.
2	292		9	21	21	13	Simon the Just, high priest of the Jews, dies, and is succeeded by Eleazar, his brother.

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